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SPECIAL MEETING, MARCH, 1876.

An adjourned meeting of the Society, by invitation of the President, was held at his house, No. 90 Marlboro' Street, on the evening of the 16th instant. The attendance was large, and included his Honor Mayor Cobb, Alderman Clark, and some other invited guests. The President took the chair at about eight o'clock, and said, —

I need not assure you, gentlemen, how glad I am to welcome you all once more under my own roof. Our old Society, as every one knows, has not been unobservant of any of those great historical events which succeeded each other so closely and so marvellously a century ago. As the dates of those events have come round, we have felt bound to put into shape, upon our records, such materials as our archives might contain, or as the researches of our members might supply, for a just and worthy illustration of the great deeds of our fathers.

We meet for this purpose to-night, on the eve of a most interesting and most memorable anniversary. It is not too much to say, that, from the day when our city had "a local habitation and a name" to the present hour, there has been no event in its history of greater magnitude and moment than that which is to be publicly celebrated — for the first time, I believe — to-morrow. The 17th of March, 1776, might well stand second only to the 17th of September, 1630, in the illuminated calendar of Boston. Indeed, in the annals of our whole country, there is hardly a date more significant and signal. We can never do too much honor to the men of Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill. The events, however, which made those men immortal, were, after all, but glorious defeats, on a larger or smaller scale. But here, a hundred years ago to-morrow, was a glorious success; all the more glorious that it was effected, as Washington said in his letter to the selectmen of our town, "with so little effusion of human blood." It was the first victory of the Revolution; the first triumph of Washington. It gave assurance to all the world, not only that independence must soon be declared, but that the declaration, whenever made, would be maintained and vindicated. It gave, too, the desired prestige of a grand success to him, who, in the good providence of God, was destined to lead our armies so nobly in the long and trying struggle which awaited them.

In all its relations, local, national, and personal, — to Boston, to our country, and to the Father of our country, — the influence and importance of the event of which to-morrow is the hundredth anniversary cannot be over-estimated.

To Boston itself it was a day of unspeakable deliverance, — never to be forgotten, nor ever to be remembered without the most grateful acknowledgments to God and man. Dr. Ellis will tell us all to-morrow how great that deliverance was; and Mr. Frothingham will, I trust, renew our remembrance this evening of some of those striking scenes of which his "Siege of Boston" is so full. But in vain would any one attempt, at this day, to give an adequate idea of the emotions which must have filled every patriot heart to overflowing when that sabbath morning dawned, — for the 17th of March, 1776, was Sunday, — and when the great result was revealed and gradually realized, that the enemy had at last embarked, that the fleet was under sail, and that our town and harbor were once more to be freed from military occupation and oppression.

It was the grand *finale* of the first act — a long and eventful act — of the great drama of Independence; and the scene was not slow in changing. Boston, so long the source and centre of the most stirring words and deeds of that stirring day, now passed into comparative peace and quiet, never again for a century, thank God, — never again, as we hope and believe, till time shall be no more, — to be trodden by a hostile soldiery. Her crown of martyrdom, which has so attracted the sympathy and the succor of all America, is now exchanged for a crown of triumph; and she wears it becomingly and worthily.

We do not forget to whom, under God, Boston owed that great deliverance, and to whom the Continental Congress awarded the grand medal which commemorated it; and if it shall prove to-morrow — as it is now more than whispered — that this very medal, after remaining in the family of the Father of his Country for a hundred years, is to find a place henceforth in our Boston Public Library as the property of the city, it will add an interest to our centennial day which hardly any thing else could equal.

No ingot of gold which ever came from the land of Havilah or from the mines of Ophir, or which was ever wrought into exquisite form by the most renowned artificers of Greece or Rome, could be so precious to us and our children, for a thousand generations, as the identical medal designed under the direction of John Adams and John Jay and Stephen

Hopkins, under the order of Congress, and which was won and worn by George Washington for driving a foreign army out of the oppressed and suffering Boston of a hundred years ago.

But I will not anticipate what the Mayor may say publicly to-morrow, or what he may feel willing to communicate to us privately this evening. Inheriting as he does the blood of him who said "he would sit as a judge, or die as a general," I am sure he will do the right thing now and always.

Meantime, before calling on the Mayor, I am unwilling to conclude these few introductory remarks without reading to you a brief letter from the noble John Adams to his son the late John Quincy Adams, not then nine years old, which is full of the true feeling for to-morrow, and which ought to be read in all our schools on every returning seventeenth day of March:—

PHILADELPHIA, 18 April, 1776.

I thank you for your agreeable letter of the 24th March. I rejoice with you that our friends are once more in possession of the town of Boston; am glad to hear that so little damage is done to our house.

I hope you and your sister and brothers will take proper notice of these great events, and remember under whose wise and kind providence they are all conducted. Not a sparrow falls, nor a hair is lost, but by the direction of Infinite Wisdom. Much less are cities conquered and evacuated. I hope that you will all remember how many losses, dangers, and inconveniences have been borne by your parents, and the inhabitants of Boston in general, for the sake of preserving freedom for you and yours; and I hope you will all follow the virtuous example, if, in any future time, your country's liberty shall be in danger, and suffer any human evil rather than give them up.

The President then introduced Mayor Cobb, who spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT,—I am gratified in being permitted by your courtesy to unite with this honored Society on this interesting occasion. These centennial anniversaries have a peculiar interest for me. They call up the glorious deeds of that noble race of men who by their courage and patriotism secured to their posterity the inestimable blessings for which they struggled. They recall with a new zest the tales of the hardships endured and dangers braved during the Revolutionary period that were repeated to us in our childhood by the then surviving heroes of the conflict.

I will make no further reference to the programme proposed for the public services at Music Hall to-morrow than to announce to you privately, that the Washington Medal, to which you, sir, have so eloquently alluded, is now in my possession, and will be formally presented to the city, with the request that it be deposited in the Public Library. The learned orator of the day, whom I see before me, will doubtless give a full and interesting account of the history of this valu-

able souvenir. I will only mention that negotiations for the purchase of the medal were begun early in December last, and have been continued until the present week, resulting in the legal transfer of the medal from its late owner, the widow of a great-grandnephew of General Washington, to the city of Boston. It was first purchased of the executors of General Washington by a nephew in the year 1800. It has continued in the possession of this family by direct descent until conveyed to the city of Boston. It was buried for safe keeping, for a considerable time during the late war, in the cellar of an old mansion-house formerly owned by the Washington family, not far from Harper's Ferry.

Without detaining you further, Mr. President and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in producing the medal for your inspection.

The precious Medal was then passed round among the members, and examined with great interest.

The President then said,—

Among the British officers of high rank who were in Boston during the siege was General Burgoyne, of whom an interesting biography has recently been published. Before asking Dr. Ellis—who reads every thing—to tell us what he has found in that volume, let me introduce General Burgoyne to you as he was introduced to Governor Bowdoin in 1775.

It is matter of record, that, when Washington entered Boston, he was accompanied by a son of Bowdoin, who took him to his grandfather Erving's to dine on salt beef,—the greatest luxury the town then afforded.

Now, it happened that Mr. Erving had a son in England who had been a friend and fellow-officer of Burgoyne, and who, on the 4th of February, 1775, wrote as follows to Governor Bowdoin :—

“I beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance a friend of mine,—General Burgoyne,—who is, with Howe and Clinton, coming with the troops to Boston. He is an exceeding polite, well-bred, sensible gentleman, very eminent in his profession, joined with great humanity. When I heard he was appointed to serve under Gage, I wrote him that I would introduce him to my relations and friends in Boston; for which he expressed his great obligations. I make no manner of doubt of your receiving him with that politeness so peculiar to you, and which his merit deserves; and that he may, when he returns to England, acknowledge that our country is not wanting in gentlemen of learning and of true breeding.”

Burgoyne had other things to acknowledge on his return to England. He did not arrive here till the 25th of May,—

after Lexington and Concord, and not long before Bunker Hill. I have no knowledge that he ever saw Bowdoin; but he occupied his mansion-house while he was here, and may have treated it more tenderly out of his regard for Mrs. Bowdoin's brother.

This brother is described thus by Governor Bowdoin, in a letter introducing him to Washington, dated 14th May, 1787 (from a rough draught):—

“Major Erving, a brother of Mrs. Bowdoin, will have the pleasure of delivering you this letter. He was formerly an officer in the British Army, and has seen a great deal of service. He was particularly at the reduction of the Havannah, Louisburg, Quebec, & distinguished himself in all those campaigns, but quitted the service some years before the British Ministry invaded their then Colonies.

“I have the pleasure to assure you he has always been a firm & Zealous friend to the rights & liberties of America; & in that character, a character always acceptable to General Washington, I beg leave to introduce him.”

Washington was then at Philadelphia as a delegate to the Convention for framing the Constitution of the United States.

The letter of William Erving is signed *Irvine*,* which was one of the old spellings of the family name. They all came, or claimed to come, from Erwin, the standard-bearer of Robert Bruce, and so down through the Lairds of Drum.

Some of the Ervings were loyalists during the Revolution; but this William seems to have been what Governor Bowdoin described him, — “a firm and zealous friend to the rights and liberties of America.” He died a bachelor, and was the founder of the Erving Professorship of Chemistry at Harvard College.

Without more words, I proceed to call on Dr. Ellis.

The Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS then read the following paper on General Burgoyne:—

General Burgoyne in Boston.

To those of us who find an interest in some incidents of our local history quickened by the general engagement of large numbers of our fellow-citizens in national centennial celebrations, any fresh element contributed to the materials of our study of the Revolutionary epoch in this immediate neighborhood will be welcome, even though it be of comparatively trivial importance. Hitherto General Burgoyne, during the six or seven months of his presence here in Boston, in the first year of our war, has been regarded as having quite an insignificant place and part; so that he would not have been missed while the events were

* The only instance of this spelling I have met with in the family letters.

transpiring, and might well be left out of any historical review of them. Though in connection with the misfortunes and disasters of his subsequent Northern campaign, and the consequences of his defeat, he became, both in England and America, a central figure of interest, he seems to have regarded himself, while in Boston, as the youngest of three lieutenant-generals under the commander, as little more than a cipher. It is a curious coincidence, that a century after his transient and restless sojourn in this town, from which he asked to be recalled almost as soon as he had arrived, we should have in print, made public for the first time, some confidential papers of his written here. A hundred years ago this night, the royal army, which for eleven months had been ingloriously cooped up and besieged in this town which they had invaded by the patriot forces gathered around it, was engaged with mingled confusion and mortification in destroying their own military stores, in embarking their sick, wounded, and Tory sympathizers, preparatory to their complete evacuation of the peninsula by the next sunrise. As amid such contrasted surroundings and circumstances we are now enjoying, in our social fellowship, the hospitalities of our honored President, we may fill a portion of this lighter hour with a slight rehearsal of the new materials put into our hands relating to General Burgoyne while in Boston.

The source of these materials is a volume bearing the following title: —

"Political and Military Episodes in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century. Derived from the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne, General, Statesman, Dramatist. By Edward Barrington De Fonblanque. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876."

The grand-daughters and other family connections of General Burgoyne put into the hands of the author such letters and documents as had been preserved by them, while he has availed himself of other original sources of information. There is but little that is really new in the volume, so far as concerns facts of importance; yet there is much that is interesting, instructive, and suggestive, in the developments made in it, in the disclosure of some secrets, and in the critical comments of the author. The author himself is well-informed and impartial, and strongly in sympathy with the American side in the strife, while generously faithful in a fair advocacy of simple justice to his subject. He is candid, frank, and unsparingly impartial in his estimate of individuals. He seems to have thoroughly informed himself in the parliamentary proceedings, and in the policy of the ministry and the opposition, while he appreciates the cause of the colonists. The author, very naturally, without any over-zealous eulogy of Burgoyne, but simply in the interest of common justice, lays stress upon the unfairness of the popular judgment passed upon him in his own time, and by historians since, in forgetting or depreciating some excellent traits of his character and many honorable and effective services performed by him, and associating with him only the bitter national disappointment and humiliation consequent upon his surrender of his army. There can be no question now but that his disastrous campaign at Saratoga, clearing the way of any lingering hope of reconciliation

between the colonies and the mother-country, and so assuring the former hesitating inclination of France and Spain to espouse our cause, was the most critical event in the progress of the war. Considering how lightly the ministerial party and their supporters — himself among them — had measured the task of crushing out rebellion, and with what insulting defiance and contempt the spirit and resources of the colonists had been regarded, it was not strange that the return he had to send to England should have exasperated the whole nation, and visited obloquy on himself. But Mr. Fonblanque gives full vindication and confirmation of what, before Burgoyne's death, was the generous conviction of the few who were his steadfast friends, — that he was not only personally blameless for his great disaster, but that he was, in fact, the victim of the folly, the neglect, the indifference, and even the deceit, of his superiors, who had planned his campaign, and bound him to orders, a scrupulous adherence to which, in opposition to his own better judgment, insured his ruin. He certainly proved himself a most brave, capable, humane, and loyal officer, a gentleman in all his instincts, superior in intellect and morals to the generality of his profession, and most forbearing under neglect and misrepresentation.

Upon one introductory point with which a biographer has to deal in starting with the family and birth of his subject the author may possibly be thought to have said too much, unless he could have said a little more. Almost on the very day of Burgoyne's discomfiture at Saratoga, that scandal-gossiper Horace Walpole, in answer to a request addressed to him by his correspondent Mason that he "would sully a sheet or two of paper with giving him the birth, parentage, and education of General Burgoyne," replied under date of Oct. 5, 1777, as follows: "You ask the history of Burgoyne the Pompous. He is a natural son of Lord Bingley, who put him into the entail of the estate; but, when young Lane came of age [who married the lord's only daughter], the entail was cut off. He ran away with the old Lord Derby's daughter, and has been a fortunate gamester."

As regards this reproach on Burgoyne's birth, Walpole, who was apt to be well-informed on such matters, seems to have adopted a common rumor, which afterwards was reiterated as a matter of accepted fact in the journals, the obituary notices, and the biographical sketches, of the general. The author denounces the story as a calumny, expresses his regret that Earl Stanhope should have repeated it, and severely censures Mr. Bancroft for recording "the scandal in the coarsest terms." But, beside simple assertion and argument in disproof, the only matter of fact which the author gives us is in these words: "John Burgoyne was born in the year 1722," — without mention of place, month, or day. Within the last two centuries, certainly, it is not common for a child in an English family of rank to need a whole year or the whole world in which to assure his first birth. The matter is now of the most trivial, if of any interest, and has engaged a passing notice here as only a curious illustration of a vague dealing with a point in which strict precision would be requisite for force of statement.

Reconciliation and approval soon followed the runaway match of

Burgoyne just referred to. He did service as captain of a regiment of dragoons at Cherbourg and St. Malo, was commissioned a colonel in 1762, and colonel-commandant in 1763. During his campaign in Portugal, our General Charles Lee served under him as colonel, and supposed that he then secured the respect and friendship of his commander. Burgoyne represented Preston in the House of Commons, where he was thanked for his services. He was commissioned major-general in 1772. He was thought to have possessed high professional qualifications; and on a visit to the Continent he wrote an elaborate paper of "Observations and Reflections upon the Present Military State of Prussia, Austria, and France." Lord Chatham was his friend; and he was a favorite at court and in society for his good looks, good nature and accomplishments, and the prestige of literary culture.

It was with unconcealed and plainly avowed reluctance that Burgoyne engaged in the service which brought him to Boston in his first campaign in America. In part, this reluctance is to be referred to the subordinate capacity in which he was to come; but equally, if not in larger measure, it is to be referred to a half-hearted or distrustful view of the cause in which he was to engage, or at least of its mode of conduct by the ministry. He had recourse to intrigue, manœuvre, and the intervention of friends, through private confidential solicitation, to release himself, consistently with the ultimate constraint of professional duty, from the necessity of going to America. His friends first, and afterwards he himself, denied that his shrinking from the service arose from his opposition to the policy of the court and ministry. But it is difficult to decide, from such fragments of his speeches in Parliament as have been reported to us, how far, with his half-heartedness, he favored that policy. Like all his colleagues, the ministry and the leading statesmen of the realm, not even excepting those who, in opposition, are regarded as having sympathized with the cause of the colonists, he was wholly uninformed as to their real feelings, purposes, and resources, prejudged the merits of the controversy, and blinded himself as to the serious developments which would grow out of the contest when fairly opened. The largest allowance, therefore, is to be made for him and others on the score of their ignorance, which was to no farther extent wilful than as it would not allow itself to be instructed. In a speech in the House of Commons, exactly one year before the affair at Lexington, he said: "I look upon America as our child, which we have already spoilt by too much indulgence. It is said, that, if you remove this duty [on tea], you will relieve all grievances in America; but I apprehend that *it is the right of taxation which they dispute, and not the tax*. It is the independence of that country upon the legislation of this for which they contend." Still, however, he said he preferred to see America "convinced by persuasion, and not by the sword." He might have followed the example set by high military and naval officers in offering their resignations, rather than serve against their convictions. Admiral Keppel, when offered a command here, said that, "although professional employment is the dearest object of my life, I cannot draw the sword in such a cause." The Earl of Effingham,

when his regiment was ordered to America, gave up his command. Lord Chatham recalled his son, Lord Pitt, who was aide-de-camp to Sir Guy Carleton in Canada. It illustrates the grateful thoughtfulness of Washington that he gave instructions to a force which he sent to Canada, that, if this young man should fall into their hands, he should be kindly treated for his father's sake. Yet, on the other hand, Lord Cornwallis solicited a command in America, though in Parliament he had opposed the ministerial policy, and pleaded for the colonies. Just before Burgoyne embarked, he made a speech, which certainly seemed to point both ways in its suggestions and arguments. Stedman ("American War") says that all three lieutenants — Burgoyne, Howe, and Clinton — were sent because in the opposition.

If, however, he was withheld by professional loyalty from seeking relief by resignation of command, Burgoyne, as already stated, plied every other method for securing it. As soon as his appointment was made known to him, he sought discharge by open and private expressions of his strong disinclination to the military service assigned to him. He urged that his domestic and private affairs, especially a regard for his wife, made it of the utmost importance for him to remain in England. He restrained a sense of wounded feeling at some previous slight and wrong received from Lord North, so far as to seek his confidence and to engage his interest for at least a change of his form of service in America. Tryon, the inefficient Governor of New York, was then in England, and it was doubtful whether he would be sent back. Burgoyne, through Lord North, the secretaries, and others, made strenuous efforts to obtain his place as governor. He was flattered, played with, and encouraged; but he soon found that Howe, with personal backers, was his rival for that office, and both of them were foiled of their object.

Another reason why Burgoyne was so restlessly bent upon being honorably relieved of an unwelcome commission which sent him to Boston as a subordinate to General Gage was, because he had so poor an opinion of the military abilities and qualities of that commander. In the confidential letters which he wrote to men high in office and influence at home, he ventured, as we shall see, under the seal of secrecy, to express himself in the plainest terms about the inefficiency and incompetency of General Gage for the special work of enterprise and decision called for by the emergency. He connected with these strictures kindly-worded expressions of friendship and regard for Gage in his private character, and for some talents which he had for peaceful administration; but he included his colleagues, Howe and Clinton, as agreeing in the strictures upon his military deficiencies. Gage was supposed, probably with little if with any reason for the suspicion, to be under the influence of his American wife, who was a daughter of Peter Kemble, President of the Council of New Jersey.

Burgoyne was also annoyed at his subordinacy as the youngest of the three lieutenants, with slender chance of advancement, and with no opportunity for winning distinction by service. He defined his responsibility and dignity as being those of the inspector of a small

brigade charged "to see that the soldiers boiled their kettles regularly." Finding himself committed to a forced exile, he made yet one more speech, so strongly supporting the ministerial measures as to draw to himself compliment and flattery, with a message of the king's especial delight and approval, accompanied by the suggestion that the speech should be printed for circulation in America. On the strength of these encomiums he made another strenuous effort to be sent to New York; but in vain.

On the morning of his embarkation, April 18, 1775, — the day preceding the first drawing of blood at Lexington, — he wrote a letter addressed to the king, to be opened and read only in case of his death while absent, in which, in the most affectionate and earnest though somewhat gushing terms, he commends his wife to the royal consideration and protection. He writes of Lady Charlotte, to whom he had been married twenty-four years, in the loftiest and tenderest language of devoted affection and respect. Though his frailties and habits as "a man of pleasure" were notorious, and were not even disguised by himself, there is no good reason, notwithstanding Walpole's contemptuous sarcasms, to doubt his sincerity in that letter, which sees the light only a century after it was written. He says that he goes to America with regret, and only in obedience to royal commands. There was no occasion for its coming under the eye of the king, as Lady Charlotte died at Kensington June 5, 1776, while her husband was absent on his first expedition to Canada.

It would appear, that, before he left the shores of England, Burgoyne had secured a virtual promise that he should be allowed to return in the autumn of the year. He was then fifty-three years of age. He arrived with his colleagues in Boston Harbor on May 25, to learn of the affair at Lexington, and to be alike bewildered, confounded, and distracted by the aspect of things in the royal army in Boston, and in the gathering of the rustic patriots in their incipient camp investing it, which, in his fresh outburst of conceit, he described as "a preposterous parade of military arrangement." Nor was it only outside the garrisoned town that the new-comers had tokens of the sort of people and sort of reception they were to encounter. Their quarters and offices were placarded at night with gibes, pasquinades, and pretended proclamations. The frigate which had brought the three generals bore the name of the "Cerberus," which tempted a satirical bard to the following precious effusion: —

"Behold the 'Cerberus' the Atlantic plough!
Her precious cargo, — Burgoyne, Clinton, Howe.
Bow, wow, wow!"

Burgoyne, who found no occasion to use his sword while he was in Boston, turned to his pen for a resource. He wrote for Gage the famous proclamation of June 12, so far relieving the commander of the folly and fustian of that otherwise harmless document. On June 14 Burgoyne writes confidentially to Lord North, revealing the discouraging and unpromising aspect of affairs, and his inability to suggest any hope-

ful method of activity, but emphasizing his own discontent with his situation and prospects, and pressing the implied understanding that he should be allowed to return to England in the ensuing winter. As there was no probability that Gage himself would be either disposed or able to undertake any new movement under existing circumstances, and must be content with simply securing his garrison in Boston, and as, even in the unlikely event of any such movement, Howe and Clinton holding rank above himself, there certainly would be no likelihood that he would be needed in or near Boston, Burgoyne proposes with much earnestness a plan by which what he estimated highly as his capacity for a form of civil service in the interest of the crown might be turned to account. The notion was widely prevalent and firmly held in Great Britain, as fostered by the ministerial party, and from that source communicated to the officers of the British army in America, that the spirit of disaffection to government was confined to only a portion of the seaboard and commercial provinces, and that large numbers of the best classes of the population in the interior of New York and at the South were still at heart loyal, and, though in danger of catching the spirit of rebellion, might, by explanation, expostulation, and conciliation, be easily reassured as British subjects. Burgoyne was confident that he could do effective service in this direction. He seems to have taken for granted that he would have found facilities rather than obstructions in extended journeys as a peacemaker here, and that all he needed was an informal commission from abroad. His proposal to Lord North, therefore, is, that Gage be written to to dismiss him from service in the army, and that the admiral be instructed to help him to pass for New York, Philadelphia, or any other province, not on any warlike errand, but for friendly counsel, a well-wisher, mediator, and conciliator. He would consent to assume such service unofficially, it being understood that he should in no way commit or pledge the government.

Under the same date, Burgoyne writes also confidentially to his friend, General Hervey, Military Secretary at the Horse Guards: —

“I wish to converse freely with you as an officer, an Englishman, and a friend; but a safe conveyance is rare. At my arrival, I found army and town unrecovered from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the ill success of April 19, and from the general revolt which had followed. I lament the manner in which the plan of that day was conceived and executed, and the general state of our military management; great part of our defeats owing to want of capacity in the departments of quartermaster-general and adjutant-general; the difficulties attending Gage’s situation. No reflection to say he is unequal to his present station; for few characters in the world would be fit for it. It requires a genius of the very first class, together with uncommon resolution, and a firm reliance upon support at home.”

Burgoyne proceeds to write with utmost plainness upon the necessity of exertions in England to supply the deficiencies of the army in all the articles necessary for a movement. He is especially indignant at the neglect of the subordinate secretaries, by which, of the fifty thousand pounds issued by the exchequer in England, Gage had received only

ten thousand, officers and soldiers being alike distressed from the want of money and the cost of bills of exchange just as fresh meat "was worth its weight in coin."

If the affair of the 19th of April had thus exercised the spirit and patience of Burgoyne, it is not strange that that which followed two months afterwards on the heights of Charlestown should have caused him some dismay. It seems, that, in *tête-à-tête* interviews between him and Howe and Clinton, there was the utmost frankness in discussing and lamenting the shortcomings of their commander. But this alone was not a sufficient relief to the burden of his spirit, which he poured forth as freely in his confidential letters. The daring enterprise of the rebels on a hill scarce a mile from the British batteries in Boston, and not a quarter of that distance from their armed vessels, was the response of the patriots to the vapid proclamation which he claims to have written to be signed by General Gage. He had no part in the action in Charlestown in which Howe commanded, and Clinton served as a volunteer, except to direct the shells from Copp's Hill which burned the town.

As soon as Burgoyne could use his pen after the consternation of the 17th June, he wrote a very long and most interesting letter to Lord Rochford, Secretary of State for the Colonies. The introductory paragraph reveals, in its suggestions, more than it directly communicates: —

"My Lord, I take the first opportunity of a safe conveyance to enter upon the confidential correspondence which your Lordship permitted me to hold with you; and while I lament the untoward state of things, which, in consistency with such an intercourse, I may often be bound to impart, it is truly satisfactory to me to reflect that my communications and opinions will be safe and sacred under the guard of your honor and friendship: the one will secure me from being discovered by those who might consider my intelligence with jealousy or prejudice; to the other I trust for a candid and generous interpretation of the freedoms my pen may take. The end I aim at is to convey truth to the king. My heart disavows a single sentiment of asperity or ill-will towards any servant of the crown in America; and in regard to that servant in particular to whom, in stating facts, I must necessarily and principally allude, I desire to be considered as one who bears high respect to his private virtues, and who, in commenting upon the circumstances of his public conduct, finds reason to justify him in some, to excuse him in others, and to pity him in all."

This is introductory to a detailed relation of incidents and particulars, with strictures and complaints alike of a formidable and of a trivial character, all expressive of the writer's disgust with his own situation, of his ill-disguised contempt of his commander, and of his sense of the utterly unpromising aspect and prospect of military affairs. Incidentally, the respectful and really eulogistic terms in which he speaks of the spirit and behavior of "the rabble in arms investing the town" indicate that he had begun to understand the nature of the issue of which, farther on in his career, he had such humiliating experience

It is evident that he intended that his confidential letters, or at least the substance of them, should in strict privacy be brought to the knowledge of the king. Without doubt, this was the case; and we cannot err in ascribing to Burgoyne's agency the summons received by Gage in September to return for the purpose of "giving information to his Majesty." We may well conceive the chagrin, annoyance, and confusion of counsels which the smothered circulation of such semi-official intelligence and rumors would excite in England.

He writes that the aforesaid "rabble in arms, flushed with success and insolence, had advanced their sentries to pistol-shot of our outguards; the ships in the harbor exposed to and expecting a cannonade or bombardment; in all companies, whether of officers or inhabitants, men still lost in a sort of stupefaction which the events of the 19th of April had occasioned, and venting expressions of censure, anger, or despondency." He approves the measure at Concord of breaking up the store of arms collected by the rebels, and wonders that it was not sooner adopted; that the persons of Hancock, Adams, and others had not been seized; that secret intelligence had not been obtained, military precautions taken, and posts occupied in the interior for supplies and magazines. All these *desiderata* Burgoyne speaks of as if they had been the easiest of accomplishment. The want of preparation for the affair at Concord had resulted in "perplexity and disgrace." He was amazed at the swiftness with which the intelligence of the affair had sped over the country, and at the thousands from the other provinces that daily "flocked to the victorious insurgents"; also at the outrages committed in the harbor and on the islands, and at the culmination of the insults on the heights of Charlestown, — "the colors of a fleet and army of Great Britain not wrested from us, but without a conflict kicked out of America." Howe and Clinton have all along been in accord with him, although trying to palliate past omissions, to conceal evils that cannot be removed, and to press some vigorous action. Re-enforcements are greatly needed: the last arrival of them raised the spirits of the men. He regards himself, in his inactivity as a junior, as but a cipher, placed "as a motionless, drowsy, irksome medium, or rather vacuum, too low for the honor of command, too high for that of execution." Only from the gratification which he finds in this correspondence does his mind derive any activity and zeal. Through it he may furnish some useful light in a great cause.

Taking for granted that the ministry have been furnished with an account of the affair of June 17 as substantially a success, he confines himself to the disclosure, under the seal of the strictest confidence, "trembling as he writes," of his own dismal view of the facts of the case. "It is certain our detachment had to struggle with more than treble numbers, assisted with all that nature and art could do to strengthen a post; intoxicated with zeal; and instigated during the action by the presence of one of their most favorite and able demagogues, — Warren, — who at last sealed his fanaticism with his blood before their eyes." We have to abate from even the qualified claim of success as here measured by stating the fact, — doubtless not known

to Burgoyne,—that the provincial force engaged in Charlestown, instead of being three to one of the British soldiers, was actually smaller in numbers, to say nothing of the aid the latter derived from their shipping and from Burgoyne's battery on Copp's Hill in Boston.

But it seems hard to have to make this abatement from the only cheering element in Burgoyne's report, when we read what follows. He will wink at the policy, for the sake of the popular impression and reassurance, of allowing the affair in Charlestown to be regarded as a success and a victory on the king's side; but his Lordship, when "the curtain is withdrawn," will find matter for reflection. The encomiums which Burgoyne proceeds to pass upon the conduct of the provincials would have been heightened, had he not erred, as above noted, in trebling their numbers. But he says truly, "The defence was well conceived, and obstinately maintained. The retreat was no flight: it was even covered with bravery and military skill, and proceeded no farther than to the next hill, where a new post was taken, new intrenchments instantly begun; and, their numbers affording constant reliefs of workmen, they have been continued day and night ever since."

Burgoyne adds, "View now, my Lord, the side of victory." The number of the killed and wounded, deplorable in itself, includes, "if fairly given, ninety-two officers, many of them an irreparable loss,—a melancholy disproportion to the numbers of the private soldiers, and there is a melancholy reason for it." That reason, which, with a trembling dread as he writes it, Burgoyne covenants "shall not pass, even in a whisper, to more than one person,"—meaning the king,—was, that the lack of courage and discipline in the soldiers not only allowed the officers to be alone and unsupported in the attack on the rebel defences, but even involved the distressing fact, "that all the wounds of the officers were not received from the enemy." There is evident frankness, to say nothing of the implied estimate of his commander, in what follows: "The men in *all* the corps having twice felt their enemy to be more formidable than they expected, it will require some training under such generals as Howe and Clinton before they can prudently be intrusted in many exploits against such odds as the conduct and spirit of the leaders enabled them in this instance to overcome."

But, supposing that full confidence could be attained in the troops, "the country near Boston is all fortification. Driven from one hill, you will see the enemy continually retrenched upon the next; and every step we move must be the slow step of a siege." Even if, by laborious progress, the country could be penetrated ten miles, not a single sheep, or ounce of flour, would be found, because the rebels would remove every thing.

A very decided though kindly worded judgment upon General Gage as utterly lacking in the qualities and capacities required in the emergency, and a fretful emphasis of the meanness and parsimony exhibited in the matter of supplies, especially that of money, present the "lamentable points" for the consideration of his Lordship. The lack of money, besides scrimping supplies and magazines, cuts them off from that most

essential thing in war or negotiation, — *intelligence*. “We are ignorant not only of what passes in congresses, but want spies for the hill half a mile off; and what renders the reflection truly provoking is, that there was hardly a leading man among the rebels, in council or in the field, but at a proper time, and by proper management, might have been bought.”

It was hardly necessary for the courteous and considerate editor of these private papers of Burgoyne to explain that this utterance of his is to be referred to the impossibility that one in Burgoyne's position should then have formed “an impartial judgment of public men in America.”

The lieutenant major-general proceeds to suggest his own plan for turning the campaign to some account. When the re-enforcements daily expected have arrived, and some of the wounded have recovered, the army will then consist of 5,200 men, besides officers. If his Lordship should suppose the force to be greater, he will be under a mistake. The proposal then is to garrison the three peninsulas — Boston, Charlestown, and Dorchester heights (the last a chicken not then hatched, and, when it was, under a different brooding) — with a thousand men each, and then, embarking the remaining two thousand with such ships as could be spared from the protection of Boston, to range and threaten the coast. This scheme would disperse the provincial forces, leaving only the Bostonians, the rebels among whom might easily be conciliated, bought over, or starved into repentance and loyalty. The fleet at sea, its destination being secret, would spread a general alarm and trepidation. “My idea,” writes Burgoyne, “would be to try the temper and strength of places, by degrees, to the southward. Rhode Island ought to feel chastisement; Connecticut River, if practicable, would afford ample contribution; Long Island, &c.” But, having followed his imaginary triumph to New York, Burgoyne is reminded of his fond persuasion, that, if he had been allowed to go there as governor, he might have saved it to the king. All his effort should be to insure conciliation. Thus he adds: “As one previous step to that purpose, my advice to General Gage has been to treat the prisoners taken in the late action, most of whom are wounded, with all possible kindness, and to dismiss them without terms. ‘You have been deluded: return to your homes in peace: it is your duty to God and your country to undeceive your neighbors!’ I have had opportunities to sound the minds of these people. Most of them are men of good understandings, but of much prejudice, and still more credulity: they are yet ignorant of their fate; and some of them expect, when they recover, to be hanged.” This policy, while it would only add thirty men now in the general's power to the many thousands who were out of it, might make a good impression; and, if it did not, it would serve to justify acts of a different nature hereafter. And, in keeping with this kindly policy, Burgoyne earnestly desires, that, as a prelude to his proposed expedition, “a manifesto framed in England by the king's ablest counsellors could arrive in time.” Winter magazines might be obtained; some towns burned, if necessary, to spread alarm; and, if the enthusiasm of the

people is still kept up by "the seditious leaders, the government will at least have clear lights to proceed by." He is sure now of one thing, — that, if the continent is to be subdued by arms, Great Britain and Ireland alone cannot supply the force for it: a large party of foreign troops must be hired to operate on the Hudson River; another army, partly of old disciplined troops, and partly of Canadians, must act from Canada; a large levy of Indians and armed blacks, with detachments of regulars, must awe the Southern provinces; and a numerous fleet must sweep the whole coast. Perhaps, after all, government may find it expedient and reconcilable with honor to relinquish its claims; "but any intermediate measure will be productive of much fruitless expense, great loss of blood, and a series of disappointments." Burgoyne asks that his candid statements be regarded as the results of a personal observation which those at home have not the opportunity to make, and not as a presumption of private judgment.

In a letter to Lord Palmerston, Burgoyne gives the following touching account of the death of Major Pitcairn, who commanded at Concord, and who was shot on Breed's Hill: —

"Major Pitcairn was a brave and good man. His son, an officer in the same corps, and near him when he fell, carried his expiring father upon his back to the boats, — about a quarter of a mile, — kissed him, and instantly returned to his duty. This circumstance, in the hands of a good painter or historian, would equal most that could be found in antiquity."

Mr. Fonblanque prints, with some vigorous comments, the correspondence between Burgoyne and our General Lee, which was published at the time on both sides of the water; but he makes a very rich addition to its subject-matter in giving us a confidential letter which Burgoyne wrote to Lord North, accompanying a copy of this correspondence. The sharp terms in which Lee wrote of the ministry, and his application of an opprobrious term to Lord North, had prompted Burgoyne to confine himself to the transmission of extracts only; but, as the letters had got into print, he is anxious, on his own part, mainly to justify himself for having addressed Lee, a traitor, in affectionate and respectful terms. The reason he gives for this was his avowed purpose to have played on Lee's ambition and avarice to the end, which he thought sure of bringing him over to the ministerial side. Whether Burgoyne's full assurance that he could thus secure the corruption of Lee was founded upon his previous insight into the character of his former subordinate, or was only a special application of his general conceit about the venality of the rebel leaders in council and field, is simply a matter of inference. Indeed, Burgoyne attributes the disinclination of the Provincial Congress to allow of the proposed interview between him and Lee to jealousy, and says he had "pretty good intelligence" that there were many sympathizers in the rebel camp in favor of conciliatory measures. This jealousy of peacemakers, as he has to admit, might impede his own desired mission on a conciliatory errand. Burgoyne sent to Lord North extracts from still another letter from Lee, the contents of which are known to us only in the two references

to its matter, — that the rebels were greatly alarmed by the report that the Indians were to be employed against them, and that Lee “solemnly pledged his honor for his positive knowledge that France and Spain are ready to accept the colonies.” Touching this last disclosure, Burgoyne suggests that Lord North, as a secretary of state, might confront the ministers of those courts with this story, or else cause it to be published abroad in America, and thus either convict Lee of falsehood, or exasperate him to further proof.

Under the same date, Burgoyne writes a letter of similar tenor to Lord Rochford. With reiterated complaint at inertness and the procrastination of all vigorous undertakings, the censure upon Gage is held a little in check for the sake of emphasizing the inefficiency and indifference of the admiral. The rebels at their will, in the harbor and upon the islands, fit out privateers, and refuse provisions in their towns on the coast. The stupidity or torpidity of the admiral is the more observable, because at first “he breathed nothing but impatience and flame.” Nothing, certainly, will come of this campaign; and, without more activity, even famine will come with the winter. The quandary is, whether to evacuate Boston for New York, and how to do it. It would be unwise to lose hold on Massachusetts before getting a solid foothold somewhere else; and the going-off would require foresight and secrecy, and other management, and more shipping. “The friends of government must not be left behind.” Then the valuable property left by the exiled rebel inhabitants of the town should be kept from returning to them, and be confiscated. Gage is so “scrupulous,” that, rather than appropriate private property, he would burn it. Burgoyne’s complaints, when circulated in England, gave rise to the rumor that he was passing over to the opposition. This certainly was not true, any further than can be inferred from the statement of his firm conviction, as given above, that either the war should be conducted with positive efficiency and energy, or that recourse should at once be had to concession and conciliation.

General Gage put the pen of his literary lieutenant to another service in replying to the peremptory letter of General Washington of Aug. 11, 1775, on the treatment visited upon the prisoners taken at Bunker Hill, and upon four patriotic citizens of Boston, whom the British commander had thrown into jail and dealt with as criminals. Besides threatening the obvious resource of retaliation, Washington rather sharply charges Gage with “acting under ministers.” Burgoyne, in the draught of his somewhat bombastic reply for his commander, took no notice of this “insinuation,” and makes a note in his journal, that “one sentence which does not appear here was added by the general.” He refers to the paragraph resenting Washington’s gibe, and bitterly describing his prisoners as “destined to the cord.” Well does Mr. Fonblanque, in commenting on this correspondence, remark, “Read by the light of subsequent history, there is something irresistibly ludicrous in a man of the calibre of General Gage thus solemnly lecturing George Washington upon his political and social duties.”

Other and more congenial employment for his pen Burgoyne found

in contributing a prologue and epilogue for the tragedy of "Zara," and in supervising other theatrical performances for the amusement of officers and sympathizing inhabitants of Boston, in Faneuil Hall. In a letter which he wrote on Aug. 20 to Attorney-General Thurlow, he refers, with a humble self-complacency, to the exercises of his pen.

In the middle of the summer the condition of the royal army was so humiliating and discouraging, that Burgoyne, in concert with Howe and Clinton, addressed a memorandum to Gage, suggesting some effort, and plan of action. The blockade, he said, could not be removed until the army could advance into the country in force. This it had not the means of doing; and he therefore recommends the evacuation of Boston, and a concentration at New York. As an alternative, if the evacuation is impracticable, he advises sending two thousand men to secure Rhode Island; thus dividing the rebel force, "and giving the law to the enemy, instead of receiving it as at present." Perplexed and fretted by the disgusts of the situation, he, on Aug. 20, pours out his mind freely in a letter to Lord George Germaine. He writes: "Whatever party in America may father this rebellion, *all* parties in England have contributed to nurse it into strength. Inconsistencies and contradictions, by a strange fatality of the times, have lost their usual nature. Ministry and opposition, faction and meekness of spirit, principles the most incongruous, have in effect operated to the same end, till, after a fatal procrastination, not only of vigorous measures, but of preparation for such, we took a step as decisive as the passage of the Rubicon, and found ourselves plunged at once in a most serious war, without a single requisite, gunpowder excepted, for carrying it on." Two cheering thoughts only give him any relief. The ascendancy of the king's troops, which was "a little in suspense" on the 19th of April, was re-established on June 17, so that even the war might be closed with the favorable impression from it. The other comforting thought is, that "the army is firmly attached in principle to the cause of Britain, and, in general, exasperated against their enemy." "The private men — a very few rascally drafts and recruits from Irish jails excepted — have not deserted." He hopes the prowess of the rebels will not be overestimated in England. "The multitude are zealous; and the leaders, though often the most profligate hypocrites, have among them very able men. I believe Adams [John] to be as great a conspirator as ever subverted a state." He then quotes some racy passages of the unfortunately intercepted letters of John Adams, in which Dickinson is spoken of as a "piddling genius." Ascribing to this foremost patriot (Adams) a most base and unscrupulous character, he recognizes his consummate ability, and mastership over "the deluded vulgar," and concludes thus: "Be assured, my lord, this man soars too high to be allured by any offer Great Britain can make to himself or to his country. America, if his counsels continue in force, must be subdued or relinquished. She will not be reconciled." He reiterates his own conviction and that of his colleagues as to the uselessness and impracticability of an attempt to break the blockade, and the wisdom of a descent on Rhode Island. With further strictures upon the deficiencies of General Gage, he is

scathingly severe in his specifications of the shortcomings and apathy of the admiral, who bears patiently all the insults of the rebels, and makes no effort even to obtain needful supplies for sufferers in the hospitals. Most piteously does Burgoyne ask for relief from his own "irksome situation." "It is hard," he writes, "to conceive so absolute a cipher in a military light as the youngest major-general in this army. I have been brought from the most interesting concerns, pleasures, duties of life, to partake of every inconvenience that can be supposed to exist in a town invested on one side, asleep on the other; and, from both those and some other causes, destitute of fresh provision, money, and all those common comforts which habit makes almost necessities, and with scarcely any other employment than to contemplate errors that I cannot redress." His complaint, he says, is not of the roughness of the service, but of its uselessness. He might be of service at home "as a faithful intelligencer." If he can be allowed to return, he will willingly come back in the spring, if the war continues, and he can be useful.

In the letter of the same date to Thurlow, above referred to, Burgoyne indulges further in his ludicrously false and contemptuous aspersions upon the leading rebels in politics. "I have ever believed them to be profligate hypocrites; but I am now convinced that with their hypocrisy they have great ability. Adams [this *bête noir* of the rebellion seems, in Burgoyne's mind, to have represented a fusion of both John and Samuel], who has certainly taken Cromwell for his model, and who perhaps guides secret counsels with more address, soars too high in personal ambition to incline to accommodation. Depend upon it, Franklin, and greater than Franklin, the instruments and movers of American faction here and in England, are equally this man's dupes."

The letter-books of Burgoyne bear evidence that he addressed sheets with similar contents to many other friends and correspondents, entering into details of the neglect, meanness, and parsimony with which the invested army was treated, and especially emphasizing the "dirtiness of office" in those whom he professed to regard as filling only subordinate posts, which held back the money so much needed here.

All these complaints and ill reports had their natural effect in distracting and embarrassing still further the councils of ministry and opposition. Gage, "the mild general," being recalled, as he supposed, only temporarily, "for consultation," went home in October, but was really superseded by Sir William Howe. Burgoyne followed in November.

There are very important additions made in Mr. Fonblanque's admirable volume to our previous knowledge of the interesting details connected with Burgoyne's subsequent and disastrous campaign in Canada and at Saratoga, of the blunders under which he was the sufferer, and of the disgraceful reception which he met on his return to England. The recurrence of the centennial of the so-called "Convention" at Saratoga, a year from next October, will afford a good and fit opportunity for a more thorough exposition of the course pursued by our Congress in that matter, which has been so severely censured by British writers, and not satisfactorily dealt with by our own.

The President then spoke of Concord as always associated with Boston in all memories of patriotic acts, and called upon Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson to say something, either in prose or verse.

Mr. EMERSON said he came to listen, and not to speak; but he would repeat a remark he heard from a neighbor the other day, who said he did not understand what was meant by saying that "the British were driven out of Boston." He thought, that, "when those fellows ran away, none but Englishmen were left."

Dr. S. A. GREEN exhibited to the Society some historical engravings connected with the early history of this country, which he secured while travelling abroad. One was published at Stuttgart, and represented the life of Washington, bearing his portrait and four separate illustrations, showing him as a surveyor; a leader of the army, at the head of his forces storming Boston; at Annapolis, making his farewell address to the army; his entry into New York as President of the United States; and the scene at his death-bed. Another picture has this inscription: "Prospect des grossen Plazes gegen der alten sud Kirche der Presbiterianer zu Boston"; and an equivalent in French. This was published at Augsburg, but by whom is not known. It was doubtless in the time of the Revolution, as in the street are represented cannon drawn by horses. The most singular fact about it is, that the Old South, the adjoining buildings, and the whole "prospect," are unlike any thing that has ever existed in that locality. It was doubtless an entire fabrication, published to sell in German and French cities at the time of the war. Dr. Green also exhibited a portrait of Washington, and one exactly similar, struck from the same plate, but bearing the signature "Pitt," which was probably sold at the time for a likeness of William Pitt; an almanac, published in the French language near the time of the evacuation, and containing poetical references to that event.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH read by its title the following paper:—

The Manufacture of Gunpowder in America.

Mr. SMITH said that at a recent meeting of the Committee for publishing the Proceedings some conversation took place relative to the time when gunpowder was first manufactured on this side of the Atlantic. In conformity with a suggestion then made, he had prepared a few notes on the subject, which he would now communicate by title, in order that they might go into the record of this meeting.

During the ante-revolutionary period almost the whole supply of powder was obtained by importation from the mother-country; but so early as 1639, an attempt was made to set up the manufacture in Massachusetts by Edward Rawson, afterward Secretary of the Colony. At a General Court holden at Boston, on the 22d of May in that year, Hugh Peter was desired to write to Holland for £500 worth of saltpetre, and to charge the cost to the Governor, the Colony promising to save the Governor harmless. Subsequently, at a Court holden on the 6th of June, — “It was ordered, that if the salt peter come not, M^r Rawson shalbee considered according to such damage as hee shall sustaine.” At the same time, he was “granted 500 acres, at Pecoit, so as hee go on wth the business of powder, if the salt peter come.” But the enterprise appears to have miscarried; and in October, 1648, “in answer to the petitiō of M^r Edward Rawson for satisfaction in regard of charges he hath ben at, & dammages which he hath sustaynd, about p^rvisions to make gunpowder,” it was ordered “that, in regard of his great forwardnes & readynes to advance so hopefull a designe as the makinge of saltpeter within this jurisdiction, who for that end & purpose, hath disbursed certayne monyes to his great losse & damage,” there should be “giuen and graunted vnto him & his heires forever five hundred acres of land at Pequot, to be layd out by the appoyntment of this Court, as also five pounds to be payd him out of the treasury.” In the following year, October, 1649, the record recites that “M^r Rawson having resigned vp his five hundred ac^{rs} of land, formerly graunted him in p^rte of recompence of his damage sustayned about salt peeter, the Court judgeth it meete to allowe him thirty pounds, in full satisfacōn; whereof the five pounds formerly graunted is to be accompted a p^rte.” Mr. Rawson died in August, 1693, at the age of seventy-eight; but we have no further account of his connection with the manufacture of gunpowder.

It seems probable, however, from occasional entries in the Colony Records, that other persons were ready to attempt the manufacture; and in the “Wonder-Working Providence,” which was first printed in 1654, Johnson says, under date of 1642: “This year the General Court made an order about preparing houses for Salt-peter, that there might be powder made in the Country, but as yet it hath not gone on.” In May, 1649, in answer to some questions of the Major-General, the Court say: “Whereas, upon examination it appeares unto this Co^rte that it is necessary that there should be some addition made to a stock of powder, & other a^mmunition, to secure o^rselves against an enemy, & thereupon have taken care that a supply may be made”; and, thinking that the other Colonies should make similar provision, they desire their Commissioners to bring the subject before the next meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. The Massachusetts Records are silent with regard to the arrangement which had been made; and there is no mention of the subject in the Records of the Commissioners. It is certain, however, that very little, if any, powder was made in pursuance of this arrangement; and in October, 1651, the Court passed an order, reciting that, “Whereas, by favour of the most honourable

Parliament of England, or counsell of state, seuerall quantities of powder & other amũition are yearly imported into this jurisdiction for o^r necessary vse & defence, now, to the end that the fauour we receive may not be abused, nor o^rselues depriued of the just & nessessary vse thereof, it is hereby ordred & enacted, that all marchants or others that shall import into this jurisdiction either powder, lead, bullets, shott, or any amũitiõ whatsoeuer, shall give p̃ticuler notice of the quantitie thereof to the publicke notary, vppon paine or pœnalty of forty pounds within one moneth after the landinge of such goods"; and a complete record of the same was to be kept in a book, and an account to be rendered on oath by the notary to the Governor, Deputy-Governor, or one of the Council.

In 1666 there was a renewed attempt to establish the manufacture here; and in May of that year the Court passed an order: "Whereas, there is a necessity of having supply of gunpowder in this jurisdiction, and forasmuch as Serjeant Richard Wooddey, of Boston, in the county of Suffolke, & M^r Henry Russell, of Ipswitch, in the county of Essex, haue been & are vppon the worke, & in preparation for salt peeter, for their future encouragement, or any other that shall appeare to attend the promoting thereof, — This Court doeth declare & order that the sajd Richard Wooddey & Henry Russell are impouered to goe on & proceed in the sajd worke"; and they had very large, and, as we should now think, extraordinary, powers granted them to facilitate their operations.

In 1674 a powder manufactory was set up at Neponset. "We are upon a worke for making powder and have erected a mill in order thereunto at Neponset, about 6 miles from Boston," Governor Leverett wrote to his friend Major Thomson, in August of that year; "our difficulty will be for peter, which we must, in our beginning, haue from without us, but hope, in time, may reise it amongst us." But it would be useless to trace the history of these fruitless undertakings further. When George III., in October, 1774, by an Order in Council, prohibited the exportation of powder to the Colonies, the manufacture had scarcely gained a footing here.

Within two years after the date of the Order in Council ten of the Colonies took active measures to promote the manufacture within their own territory. In November, 1775, the House of Representatives of Massachusetts appointed a committee "to consider of a proper place for erecting a Powder-Mill, and to make inquiry for some suitable person to build the same; and also for some suitable person to be employed as a manufacturer of the article of Gunpowder, and to consider in what way the business may be most advantageously conducted." In the following month the House appointed a committee "to purchase so much land, and such a part of the stream of water in the town of Sutton, as may be fully sufficient for the erecting a mill in the said town of Sutton, for the manufacturing powder," and the committee were further "authorized and empowered to purchase the remains of a powder-mill in the town of Stoughton, with so much of the land and stream adjoining the same, as may be sufficient to prepare

said mill for the manufacturing powder," and also "to employ such skilful persons for the erecting and preparing said mills for the manufacturing powder, and to provide such skilful persons as manufacturers, as may be sufficient for that purpose." Subsequently this vote was reconsidered, and a committee was appointed to visit Andover and Stoughton "to take a view of the place in each of those towns, proposed for erecting a powder-mill, and report to this Court at which place said mill may be erected with the greatest convenience and despatch." At the beginning of January, 1776, another committee was appointed "to confer with Mr. Phillips, on a proposal made by him for erecting a powder-mill at Andover." Three days afterward a new committee was appointed to purchase the remains of the powder-mill at Stoughton and repair the same, or to erect a new mill at Sutton, "as they, after having consulted the master-workman who shall undertake the same, shall judge expedient." About the same time it was resolved, that "Whereas, Mr. Samuel Phillips, Jun., has proposed to build a mill with all expedition at Andover, for manufacturing gunpowder, and this Court is willing to give all reasonable encouragement to so important and necessary an undertaking," the Colony would, on certain conditions, furnish him with a sufficient quantity of saltpetre and sulphur at cost, to keep the mill constantly employed during the first year after its erection, and purchase all the good merchantable gunpowder which he should produce, paying him for it at the rate of eight pence per pound.* A month later, February 13, 1776, it was resolved that, "Whereas, the invention and industry of the inhabitants of this Colony have been excited by the barbarous policy of Britain, and by the encouragement given by the General Court to seek internal resources of warlike stores, and have been so far succeeded that much greater quantities of that capital article, saltpetre, has, and probably will be made here, than the powder-mills now erecting at Stoughton and Andover will be able to manufacture into gunpowder; and whereas, experience and the present apparent designs of Administration, strongly dictate the necessity of guarding against the want of that important article, which we presume may be done by encouraging individuals to erect powder-mills"; therefore, a bounty of fifty pounds was authorized to be paid to any person or persons who should, at his or their own expense, within six months, erect a powder-mill capable of making at least fifty pounds weight of powder per day, and should actually manufacture ten hundred weight of powder; and a second bounty of thirty pounds was authorized to be paid to the person or persons who should erect a second mill, and manufacture a similar quantity of powder.

In March, 1776, Abijah Burbank of Sutton was authorized in pursuance of this vote to erect a powder-mill in Sutton on land of which

* The mill erected by Mr. Phillips was blown up June 1, 1778, and three persons were killed by the explosion. It was subsequently rebuilt, and again blown up in 1796. After that date no further attempt was made to carry on the manufacture in Andover.

he was the owner; but the bounty proved to be insufficient for the purpose, and within a fortnight afterward a committee was appointed "to erect a powder-mill in the town of Sutton, at the expense of this Colony, with all possible expedition, and on the best plan." In May, an order was passed to the effect that as no person had shown that he was entitled to receive the premium for the erection of a powder-mill, and, "as this Court are of opinion that it would be expedient and conducive to the public safety that there should be at least two powder-mills in this Colony besides the powder-mill at Andover, and the two that are erecting at the cost of the Colony," the time for erecting such mills should be extended for a further period of three months. May 9th, Thomas Crane was "appointed to carry on the manufacturing of gunpowder in the Colony Mill at Stoughton, until the further order of the General Court," and was "empowered and directed to employ, in behalf of this Colony, so many suitable persons as are necessary to carry on the same."

In January, 1776, the New Hampshire House of Representatives appointed a committee "to inquire into the structure and cost of a powder-mill, and make a report to this House as soon as may be"; and in the following March it was recommended "that a committee be appointed to get a powder-mill erected on the best terms they can, and as soon as possible, within the limits of the town of Exeter," and a committee was accordingly appointed "to agree with some suitable person to build a powder-mill in this Colony." In June it was "voted, that Samuel Folsom, Esq., have a loan of £300 out of the treasury, for the term of one year, to enable him to prosecute the building a powder-mill in Exeter."

Rhode Island, also, ordered in January, 1776, a powder-mill to be erected; and a mill was accordingly put in operation at North Providence. This mill, which was accidentally blown up in August, 1779, was on the Wanasquatucket river, four miles from Providence; and the road near the spot is still known as the "Powder-mill Road."

In December, 1775, the General Assembly of Connecticut passed an "Act for encouraging the Manufacture of Saltpetre and Gunpowder," which provided, among other things, "that a bounty or premium of thirty pounds shall be paid out of the Colony Treasury to the person or persons who shall erect the first powder-mill in this Colony, and shall make and manufacture therein five hundred pounds' weight of good and merchantable gunpowder; also that a bounty or premium of thirty pounds shall be paid out of the Colony Treasury to the person or persons who shall erect the second powder-mill in this Colony, and make or manufacture therein five hundred pounds' weight of good and merchantable gunpowder." At the same time, licenses were granted for the erection of powder-mills in Hartford, about three miles east of the Connecticut River, and in Windham. In the following May, a license was granted for the erection of another mill in Stratford. About the same time, apparently, a mill was put in operation at New Haven.

In January, 1776, the New-York Committee of Safety addressed a

letter to Robert R. Livingston, recommending the re-erection of the powder-mill formerly built by his father. This was immediately done ; and early in February it was announced that " the powder-mill of the late Judge Livingston is now re-erected in the completest order for manufacturing gunpowder, and that a proper manufacturer and workmen are there attending ; but that the manufacturer proposes to depart soon, unless saltpetre can be procured." The great scarcity of saltpetre was, in fact, the chief obstacle to the establishment and successful operation of the early powder-mills. In March the Provincial Congress of the Colony passed a vote to lend, to any person suitably recommended, " the sum of one thousand pounds for two years, without interest," upon his giving security for the repayment of the same ; provided, among other things, " the person or persons who shall so apply do engage, by contract with this Congress or the Committee of Safety, to erect, within three months from the time of the said loan, a powder-mill of the best quality, in such place within the Colony as the General Committee of the County wherein the same is to be erected shall approve of." Under authority of this vote, John R. Livingston gave bond, within a week, that he would, " within three months from the date hereof, erect a powder-mill of the best quality, in such place in Dutchess County as the General Committee of the said County shall approve of." In July the Committee of Dutchess County certified that they had satisfactory evidence that this mill " was completed before the 20th of May last, and that the quantity of one thousand pounds of good merchantable gunpowder was manufactured at the said mill in one week, or seven days, successively." Mills were also put into successful operation in Ulster County and in Orange County. Beside loaning money to aid in the erection of mills, the Provincial Congress of New York unanimously voted on the 16th of March, " Whereas it is necessary for the security of this Colony to establish manufactures of gunpowder in the same, and this Congress having resolved to lend money for the encouragement thereof, and it being judged expedient to add some further encouragement to those who shall erect powder-mills in this Colony," premiums of one hundred pounds, seventy-five pounds, and fifty pounds, respectively, should be given to the person or persons who should, before the 20th of May, the 10th of June, and the 1st of July, erect the first three mills, each " capable of manufacturing one thousand pounds of good merchantable gunpowder per week."

Pennsylvania appears to have been the first Colony to set on foot a manufactory of gunpowder, after the issuing of the king's proclamation ; and in " a letter from a gentleman of Philadelphia to a member of the British Parliament, dated Dec. 24, 1774," printed in Force's " American Archives," the writer says, " The late proclamation forbidding the exportation of gunpowder and firearms to America seemed intended to take away from the Colonies the power of defending themselves by force. I think it my duty to inform you that the said proclamation will be rendered ineffectual by a manufactory of gunpowder which has lately been set on foot in this Province, the materials of which may be procured in great perfection, and at an

easier rate than they can be imported from Great Britain, among ourselves." Within six months from that time, two other powder-mills appear to have been set in operation; and in June, 1775, John Adams wrote to Moses Gill, "There are three powder-mills in this province, two in New York, but no nitre. Cannot the Massachusetts begin to prepare both?" A few months later—in January, 1776—the Committee of Safety ordered an advertisement to be inserted in the Philadelphia newspapers, that "such persons as are willing to erect powder-mills in this Province, within fifty miles' distance of this city, are desired to apply to the Committee of Safety, who will lend the money on security, if required, for that purpose, and give them other encouragements." On the 25th the committee voted that it was "highly expedient, in the present exigency of our affairs, to employ a number of powder-mills"; and a committee was appointed "to consider of proper places to erect suitable works for the purpose, or to engage with owners of any mill or mills already erected for other purposes, to convert them to the making of gunpowder." Shortly afterward this committee reported that they had received proposals from several persons who were willing to erect powder-mills; and on the 10th of February the committee were authorized to encourage the erection of six powder-mills by loaning to any person "any sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty pounds, on giving good security to employ it in erecting a powder-mill, and either repay it in money or work"; to purchase the powder so manufactured at the rate of eight dollars per hundred pounds, delivered in Philadelphia; "this committee only finding saltpetre, and half the expense of light casks"; and to pay "one hundred dollars as a premium for the first, fifty for the second, and thirty for the third powder-mills, which shall deliver one ton, each, of powder." On the 16th the committee "resolved, that, under the authority given by Congress, this Board immediately proceed to erect, on account of the Congress, a powder-mill on a large stream, capable of manufacturing, as nearly as possible, four tons of gunpowder per week"; and also "to contract with a number of persons, not exceeding four, to erect powder-mills, engaging to supply them with eight tons of saltpetre each, the profits of manufacturing which to be considered as a full compensation for the expense and risk of such undertaking." Other votes of a similar purpose were also passed at a later date; and in March, 1776, General Reed wrote to Washington from Philadelphia, "We are casting cannon, and there is more saltpetre made than in all the Provinces put together. Six powder-mills are erecting in different parts. The two near this city deliver two thousand five hundred pounds per week, and are now in very good order."

In August, 1775, the Maryland Convention voted "that a sum not exceeding one thousand pounds common money be appropriated for erecting and working a powder-mill on the account of this Province." In the following December a further vote was passed, "that the Council of Safety to be appointed by this Convention be empowered to advance, on loan for two years, without interest, on bond with good

security, any part of the one thousand pounds appropriated by the last Convention for erecting and working a powder-mill, to such person or persons as will undertake and give good security for erecting and working the same; such person or persons undertaking that such mill shall be capable of manufacturing at least eight hundred pounds of gunpowder per week, and that the saltpetre which may belong to the public shall be there manufactured into gunpowder for a just and reasonable price; the same powder-mill to be erected within fourteen, and not less than six, miles from Baltimore town." Under the authority of this vote a mill was set up, and powder manufactured, several months before the Declaration of Independence. It was, however, found expedient to change the form of the vote; and in May, 1776, it was resolved "that the said one thousand pounds, or any part thereof that may be necessary, be applied and expended by the Council of Safety for the time being in erecting and working a powder-mill within this Province on account of the public; and that a sum of money, not exceeding five hundred pounds, be advanced by the Council of Safety for the time being to any person who will undertake, and give security for erecting, a powder-mill at any place within this Province, which shall be thought proper by the Council of Safety, on the terms of the said resolution of the last session of Convention."

In Virginia the Committee of Cumberland County, in February, 1775, "resolved, that the members of the Committee now present will give a premium of three shillings per pound to the first person, or company of persons, who shall, within eight months from the date hereof, produce to the said Committee, or the chairman thereof, fifty pounds' weight of good gunpowder, manufactured in America, on due proof that the same was made wholly of American materials."

In North Carolina, the Provincial Congress voted, on Sunday, Sept. 10, 1775, "that the sum of two hundred pounds be paid for the first five hundred weight of good merchantable gunpowder, equal in goodness to gunpowder imported from Great Britain, of the price of eighty-five shillings sterling per hundred-weight, that shall be made and manufactured within this Province, and delivered to the Provincial Council within the space of six months from this time; and that the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds be paid for the second five hundred weight of good merchantable gunpowder that shall be made and manufactured in this Province, and delivered to the said Council within twelve months next following; and so in proportion for any greater quantity."

In March, 1776, the Provincial Congress of South Carolina appointed a committee "to consider and report the best means of erecting a powder-mill and of promoting the making of gunpowder in this Colony"; and an agreement with Henry Felder, Esq., was authorized for making a quantity of gunpowder from "saltpetre and sulphur belonging to the Colony." In September this committee reported "that they did employ William Bartey, a man skilled in the art of making gunpowder; that they have allowed him twenty shillings

currency per pound for all the gunpowder that he produced out of the materials with which the commissioners furnished him with, charging him with those materials; that they have worked up into gunpowder all the nitre they have received or could procure; . . . from which they have made and delivered to the gunpowder receiver, and officers of the army (per receipt for the same), six hundred and twenty-five pounds' weight of gunpowder." Previously to this time, the Rev. Mr. Tennent appears to have made a considerable quantity of powder, of which a large part is described as "bad."

The meagreness of the results obtained from all these efforts, mainly in consequence of the extreme scarcity of saltpetre, shows under what difficulties our fathers began the war of independence, and explains their constant endeavors to obtain powder from abroad. The repeated appeals from all quarters for more powder received only a feeble response, because the Colonies were not in a condition to meet the demand. Of the thirteen Colonies, only three — Delaware (now the chief seat of the powder manufacture in the United States), New Jersey, and Georgia — failed to take action for the encouragement of powder-mills before the Declaration of Independence. New Jersey, however, in October, 1775, appropriated one thousand pounds "to encourage the erecting of saltpetre-works in this Colony," by granting "a bounty of one shilling per pound, over and above the market-price, for any quantity, not exceeding twenty thousand pounds' weight, of good merchantable saltpetre, which shall be made and manufactured in this Colony on or before the first day of January, 1777; provided that the Continental Congress shall not offer the like premium for saltpetre manufactured in the United Colonies." In the following March an ordinance was passed by the Provincial Congress, designed to give greater efficiency to this vote.*

* An inquiry into the sources from which saltpetre was obtained, and the measures adopted to encourage its production, would possess considerable interest; but it would take too wide a range to be pursued within the limits of a footnote. It will be sufficient to add that saltpetre was procured by importation from the continent of Europe and the West Indies, from caves and from the earth under old houses and barns, and by distillation; and bounties were freely offered for its production. A reference to a few of the votes passed in Massachusetts will show what was, in general, the character of the measures adopted by the various Colonies. In February, 1775, our Provincial Congress voted, "That, for the encouragement of such as are disposed to set up the manufacture of saltpetre, this Congress do engage to purchase the whole quantity that shall be manufactured in this Province, within twelve months from this date, at the rate of fourteen pounds" per hundred-weight. In June, not quite a fortnight after the battle of Bunker Hill, Dr. William Whiting was appointed "a committee to repair to New York, and confer with Doct. Graham, or any other gentlemen that have had experience in the manufacturing of saltpetre, and that he be directed to procure from him or them the most minute, particular, and intelligible account, relative to the manufacturing of this article, possible, and that, if to be found, he procure and engage some ingenious person, who has been used to work in the business of making saltpetre, to come immediately to this place, who shall be employed in said business, and that the expenses of said journey to New York, and that the travel of said workman to this place, be paid out of the public treasury of this Colony." In the following August, it was "resolved,

The Rev. H. W. FOOTE said that he held in his hand a document, which showed, that, however the price of most articles was raised in Boston by the scarcity consequent on the state of siege, there was one commodity at least which was reduced in value. The members of the Society would see that the price of a "negro boy" in Boston at that time was extremely low, by examining the bill of sale of one by the last loyalist rector of King's Chapel; which was, perhaps, one of the latest of such documents drawn in Massachusetts. This might be the more interesting to the Society from the fact that Dr. Caner at that time occupied his house, where the Society's building now stands. Mr. Foote said that the paper was kindly communicated to him by Dr. B. Joy Jeffries, and is one of the mass of family papers discovered last summer in Faneuil Hall.

Know all Men by these presents that I Henry Caner of Boston in the County of Suffolk & Province of the Massachusetts Bay Clerk do for the Consideration of Ten Shillings to me in hand paid, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge; Sell alienate and make over to Doctor John Jeffries of Boston aforesaid, my Negroe Boy Prince about 18 or 19 years of Age, as the said Jeffries's own property, and do warrant the said Negroe Boy against the lawful Claim

that Dr. Whiting, Deacon Baker, of Bolton, and Captain John Peck, be a committee, whose business it shall be faithfully and diligently to apply themselves to the manufacturing of saltpetre, for the space of three months from the first day of September, 1775, jointly or severally, in such places in this Colony as they shall judge most suitable for that purpose; and they are hereby directed to use all diligence to discover the most eligible and successful method of manufacturing that important commodity, and to communicate all the useful knowledge they shall acquire in said business to all such as request it of them, and that they from time to time publish, in the newspapers or otherwise, all the useful discoveries they may make in the progress of said business." And at the same time it was "strongly recommended to the inhabitants of the several towns" to "take especial care to collect together under proper sheds those materials (the knowledge of which may be easily obtained from publications) which, by fermenting and putrefying together, will in due time afford saltpetre with ease and in great plenty." At the end of September the committee were ordered "to repair to Windsor, in Connecticut, in order to acquire further knowledge in that important manufacture." The chairman accordingly visited Enfield and Windsor, and on his return presented an elaborate report, giving a minute account of the process of manufacture adopted in Connecticut. It would seem that this method was not successful here; and in November Dr. Whiting was again sent to Connecticut to obtain further information on the subject, and the committee were directed to "use their utmost efforts, until the 15th day of December next, for obtaining a successful and sure method of manufacturing said commodity." Beside purchasing, at half a dollar per pound, all the saltpetre which might be manufactured and delivered to them before the 1st of October, 1776, they were empowered to pay a bounty of four shillings per pound on all saltpetre manufactured before the 1st of July, provided that the manufacturer should produce at least fifty pounds, and bring a proper certificate that he was the manufacturer.

of any person by from or under me, to him the s^d John Jeffries His Heirs & Assigns. As Witness my hand this 5th day of July 1775.

H. CANER.

The following paper was prepared for this meeting; but the time would only permit of its being communicated by a general description of its contents:—

Mr. T. C. AMORY alluded to an incident connected with the siege of Boston and its evacuation, which seemed to form one of the appropriate reminiscences of the occasion. Soon after possession was taken of Dorchester Heights, his grandfather, Thomas Amory, was requested by the selectmen to go with his brother and Mr. Johannot to propose to Washington, with the sanction of General Howe, that, if the British troops were suffered to go away unmolested by the American batteries, the place should be left unharmed by them. They went for this purpose to the Roxbury lines, and communicated the proposition with which they were intrusted; and, though its transmission by civilians was in deviation of the established usages of war, it was courteously received and acted upon. What form the assurances mutually given actually took has not been recorded; but both sides, under the circumstances, were content to abide by an arrangement which prevented a sanguinary conflict, involving possibly the destruction of the place or its serious injury, and of a large number of non-combatants, aged and infirm, women and children, who constituted its inhabitants.

Mr. Amory, if taking no active part in the strife, was not insensible to the wrongs of his countrymen which led to resistance; and his neutrality did not forfeit him the regard of his fellow-townsmen. His earlier studies, after graduating at Cambridge, had been for the church; and his life was devoted rather to books than to business occupations. The Coffins, his brothers-in-law, were loyal to the crown, and became generally refugees; and, when the Revolution broke out, his family consisted of eight children under twelve.

An anecdote is related of an attack upon his house, when popular feeling was at its height, by a throng of the Sons of Liberty, who took umbrage at his entertaining British officers. Missiles entered the apartment where his children were sleeping. The officers, not to endanger his family, escaped to their quarters through his garden, and by the water, which then flowed up to the immediate neighborhood of his dwelling. He went out himself to the steps in front; and a few words fitly spoken induced the assailants to take their departure.

His two brothers, one of whom accompanied him in his mission on the 7th of March, were largely engaged as partners in importing from Europe; and the youngest, not long before the war broke out, went to England to settle their accounts in preparation for the coming storm. Though paid themselves by their debtors, if at all, in depreciated currency, they paid their own debts in sterling; remitting thirty thousand pounds in a year. This is mentioned as one instance of many where hesitation to go all lengths in the cause of liberty is susceptible

of explanation without reproach. Passages from the correspondence of the house now submitted show that their sentiments on the subject of liberty were as stanch as their neighbors'. Some parts of it, according to tradition, lay on the table of the House of Commons, and was read in the course of the debate the night the repeal of the Stamp Act was under discussion, and has been said to have had much influence in the result. This concession just ten years before the evacuation we celebrate, if followed up in good faith, might have deferred, though not probably prevented, eventual separation. Independence, like emancipation later, came in the fulness of time; but little did any one anticipate in 1766 what was to chance before the ensuing decade had passed. Both phrase and feeling in the correspondence indicate how largely the house participated in the prevailing sentiment of indignation against parliamentary encroachments.

The Stamp Act was passed March 22, 1765; and repealed twelve months afterwards, — March 18, 1766. Among the correspondents of the firm were more than one member of the House of Commons; and the British merchant has always possessed influence in politics. The following extracts show that the same class in this country took a lively interest in what so nearly concerned them. In November, 1765, the house writes, —

“We are very apprehensive, if the Stamp Act is not repealed or suspended, that there will be a general determination, not only here, but throughout the continent of America, not to make use of any English manufactures other than what absolute necessity requires. This will reduce the importations from England to a mere trifle of what they have been, and must entirely put an end to our trade with you. If this act is forced upon us, we shall consider ourselves as no other than slaves, without any thing we can call our own. It must render disaffected to the English government above a million of people, who till now were proud of being Englishmen, and as firmly attached to the interest of England as if they had been born there. After being deprived of our natural liberties as men, and due privileges granted our ancestors by royal charter, we shall be very indifferent who our foreign masters are; and we perhaps may like them the least whom we once loved the best.”

A few days later they say, —

“We cannot think that the merchants who deal to America will find it their interest to increase their debts here by further exportations, unless the Stamp Act is repealed. The resentment of the people is at a very high pitch, but will be much higher if not soon relieved. There will certainly be a general combination of all ranks to throw off every sort of luxury in dress, which you know will take in at least two-thirds of our imports from Great Britain. People begin to dress themselves in our own manufactures, and will soon generally. We are, at present, in a state of anarchy. We are, however, petitioning our governor and council that our courts may be open; which we think they must come into, as people seem determined to pay no taxes to government if we are deprived of the benefit of it.”

Intelligence of the repeal of the Stamp Act reached Boston toward the end of May; and two weeks later the house writes as follows:—

“We have your favor of the 18th of March, acquainting us of the repeal of the Stamp Act. We have the highest sense of the assiduity and kindness of our friends in that most important concern, among whom we are sensible you have been the foremost. It is with particular pleasure that we assure you that there is now the fairest prospect that the harmony and affection which so long subsisted without the least interruption till the Stamp Act was passed will again take place; at least, it is the ardent wish of the people here. Their minds are now quieted, and not disposed in general to novelties, but content that the line of dependence should rest where it now is, as we look upon the matter of internal taxes as now settled, notwithstanding the claim of parliament. We cannot think the wisdom and policy of the government will suffer them again to attempt even what we esteem our natural inherent rights or our charter privileges; for, should they, they might expect that we shall not be wanting in making every effort to preserve our freedom, more dear to us than life. We are thoroughly sensible that there is no power on earth with whom we could so well be connected as with Great Britain, as almost all our interests coincide, and as our security depends upon her fleets and armies maintained at an immense expense. We are content with a restriction on our trade, especially that part from which it is most for the interest of Great Britain to exclude us: we mean the Dutch and Northern trade. We are also sensible that a state of independence, could we obtain it, would not probably be so well for us as our present situation; and the Colonies may continue their subjection to England long after they arrive at a condition of casting off their dependence, provided the government there studies to gain their affections, and governs them with mildness.”

Similar sentiments were doubtless honestly entertained by many Americans, who, from obligations not to be disregarded, gave up home and estate to die in poverty and exile. Without detracting from the glory of the patriots who staked their all for independence, we can well afford, in our year of jubilee, to view with candor the neutrality of such as were not well able to quit their posts of duty without sacrifice of their commercial honor or their domestic obligations. The estates of the absent brother, whose descendants are numerous among us, were put in sequestration, but not confiscated. The other two, whose seasonable mission with Mr. Johonnot probably saved Boston from the fate of Charlestown on the 17th of June the year before, continued undisturbed till the war ended. One of their cousins, Henry Middleton of South Carolina, was President of the Continental Congress; and his son Arthur, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; whilst William, the elder brother of Henry, then, or a few years before, represented Ipswich in the British Parliament. The side embraced in civil war is not invariably a safe criterion of character or political sentiment. In our war of independence, and in the late civil conflict, the same names occur, — kindred enlisted on either side; circumstances, not always known or easily explained, affecting their decision.

Mr. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM was then introduced, and read the following paper:—

Since the publication (1849) of the “History of the Siege of Boston,” I have kept an eye on the appearance of new matter relative to the events of this period, and have largely increased my collections from contemporary authorities. I purpose to select from this mass a few salient things to serve as my contribution to this interesting occasion. They will show the spirit of the time.

It was a saying of Cardinal De Retz, that parties never go so far as when they know not where they are going. This was the case with the popular party in this country a few years before the beginning of the siege of Boston. It was ever professing loyalty, and it was as constantly repelling as calumny the charge of aiming at independence; and yet, by attaining to united effort and the habit of obedience to the regularly collected will of the majority, it unconsciously was led far towards that national power which it was in the design of Providence should arise in America. Indeed, the spirit of American nationality may be said to have been in the air. It was the burden of many a prophecy. Thus Ezra Stiles, pondering (1774) “on that Saxon genius of liberty and law which English America inherits from the parent State,” predicted that the Union would produce “a Runnemedé in America.” An American, Gulian Verplanck, on a visit to England during this period, sang:—

“Hail, happy Brittan, Freedom’s blest retreat!
Great is thy power, thy wealth, thy glory great,
But wealth and power have no immortal day,
For all things ripen only to decay:
And when that time arrives — the lot of all —
When Britian’s glory, power and wealth shall fall
Then shall thy sons by Fate’s unchanged decree
*In other worlds another Briton see,
And what thou art America shall be.”*

This sentiment of union imbues the varied action elicited by the penal acts closing the port of Boston, and altering the government of Massachusetts. It was expressed in the remarkable correspondence, revealing the very heart of the Revolution, between the local committees of the Colonies, as they sent their generous donations for the relief of the sufferers, and the grateful replies of the Boston committee. There is no record more authentic or beautiful or suggestive connected with the formative process of the

country. It was printed for the first time by this Society (Fourth Series of "Collections," 4th volume, 1858). It presents a life-like picture of the time. It shows, that, below conflicting interests and old feuds, there was ever a spirit of brotherhood, a hearty sympathy, a common faith in political ideas, and one distinct aim. While this interchange of sentiment was going on, there was sterner work in progress. "Our brethren," the "Essex Gazette" of Dec. 20, 1774, says, "of New Hampshire and Rhode Island, have signalized themselves in a manner that does them the greatest honor; and it is with pleasure we can add, that the Colony of Connecticut merit our highest regards for their present assiduity and vigilance in disciplining their militia, which consists of near thirty regiments. . . . Indeed, the whole United Colonies are extremely active and zealous in the common cause, all nobly exerting themselves for carrying into execution the measures agreed upon by the late Continental Congress, — excepting a few disappointed, factious Tories."

The preparation for a great crisis had been so efficient by political and military organization, that the events of the 19th of April, 1775, called the militia round Boston in such numbers as to place a well-appointed body of British veterans in a state of siege. "All America," a British journal said, "is now rising, and the universal cry is, 'To-arms, to-arms!'" The seat of empire seems already dedicated for the Western World. Happy Britons, if they shall owe the merit of their liberty to the success of their American brethren."

The militia, however imperfect in their organization, still gathered under the shield of American law. This law was embodied in the association of the Congress of 1774. Here is the copy that was printed in Boston on a broadside, on its reception here, with the names of the signers. In this shape the instrument was discussed in every town or county or district in the thirteen Colonies; and, very generally, was adopted. Thus it faithfully bore the "sovereign States' collected will." It authorized the government by committees and congresses which lasted until the adoption of the Articles of the Confederation.

The public papers and private letters of the times bear witness that this government was as much respected as any laws. The newspapers now (December, 1774) begin to have advertisements of the sales at public auction of portions of cargoes, "agreeable to the American Congress Association."

The adoption of this army by the General Congress was a foregone conclusion. For this body, in October, approved

of the opposition of the people of Massachusetts to the Regulation Act, and declared, that, if it was attempted to be executed by force, all America ought to rally to their support; and this pledge had been reiterated for months in the action of towns, counties, and conventions, and especially in the fiery letters which the local committees sent to Boston. The administration was endeavoring to execute this law by force. This had been met by force, and in a manner that met the entire approval of the Whigs throughout the Colonies. There was no thought, in Congress or in the people, of falling back on these pledges.

But the paramount event of the siege was the appearance in the army of Washington as the commander-in-chief. To what does the country owe this noble appointment? How were the hearts and the minds of the people of the thirteen Colonies drawn towards this great American to such a degree that they unanimously put their lives and their liberties in his hands?

Though only forty-three, Washington had been before the public nearly a quarter of a century. The "Journey of Major Washington" to the Ohio country (1753), at the age of twenty, made his courage and his resources known throughout America and Europe. His Diary was printed widely in the journals. To this succeeded the well-known military service at the Great Meadows and on the Braddock field. Even the criticism which this service elicited in European journals had the effect to make him known. This also was the effect of a letter addressed to his brother that got into the "London Magazine" in 1754, in which he says, "I heard the bullets whistle; and believe me there is something charming in the sound." He was next appointed a lieutenant-colonel in the Virginia forces. In this capacity he engaged in a wide sphere of duty in meeting the Indians on the frontiers of Virginia, and was eminently successful in this arduous and difficult task.

A question of rank required a consultation with General Shirley in Boston. Washington, leaving his command with Colonel Stephen, set out on horseback in company with Captain Mercer, and Captain Stewart (who was with General Braddock when he died), on a journey of five hundred miles in the dead of winter. His arrival at Philadelphia and New York was noticed in the press.* In Boston he was announced

* "NEW YORK, Feb. 23, 1756. — Last Friday, Colonel Washington left this city for Boston; there, 'tis thought, to consult with General Shirley. Measures

in the following way: "Last Friday came to this town, from Virginia, the Hon. Colonel Washington, a gentleman who has deservedly a high reputation for military skill, integrity, and valor; though success has not always attended his undertakings" (Boston, March 1, 1756). His sojourn in all these places was marked by every attention.

His mission was a partial success. He returned to Winchester. This year he was ordered to proclaim the declaration of war against France. He read this at several points in this place, and then addressed his command in the following terms:—

"You see, gentlemen soldiers, that it has pleased our most gracious sovereign to declare war in form against the French king, and (for divers good causes, but more particularly for their ambitious usurpations and encroachments on his American dominions) to pronounce all the said French king's subjects and vassals to be enemies to his crown and dignity; and hath willed and required all his subjects and people, and in a more especial manner commanded his captain-general of his forces, his governors, and all other his commanders and officers, to do and execute all acts of hostility in the prosecution of this just and honorable war. And though our utmost endeavors can contribute but little to the advancement of his Majesty's honor and the interest of his governments, yet let us show our willing obedience to the best of kings, and, by a strict attachment to his royal commands, demonstrate the love and loyalty we bear to his sacred person; let us, by rules of unerring bravery, strive to merit his royal favor, and a better establishment as a reward for our services."

Here is seen that loyalty to the crown which long animated Washington. This speech, though in the newspapers, cannot be found in the biographies of Marshall, Ramsay, Sparks, or Irving.

On the conclusion of the war, Washington resigned (1759) his commission, and retired to Mount Vernon. He was soon elected a member of the House of Burgesses. Though alive to the aggressions of the British administration on the customs and rights of the Colonies, he was engaged in no action, even in the times of the Stamp Act, that brought his name before all the Colonies.

proper to be taken with the several tribes of Indians to the southward, and particularly the Cherokees, some hundreds of whom, from the back parts of the two Carolinas, it is reported, have assured the western governments of their coming in, and firmly adhering to the interests of the English, in opposition to the French."

"NEW YORK, March 15. — Colonel Washington returned hither from Boston on Tuesday last, on his way home to Virginia."

The Townshend revenue acts (1767) elicited the non-importation scheme as a peaceable means to obtain their entire repeal. The whole country became occupied with this measure. It fairly engrossed the public mind. Colonies that did not come into it—as Rhode Island—were termed plague-spots. Individuals who violated it were roughly treated. The Burgesses now (1769) passed their memorable resolves. For this the royal governor, Lord Botetourt, dissolved them.

Washington, still a member, had brought a paper providing for a non-importation agreement for Virginia, which he intended to move in the House. He, with the patriots, now repaired to the residence of Anthony Hay. Here they chose Peyton Randolph their moderator; matured a non-importation agreement for Virginia, and his signature to it is the seventh on the list. This paper was copied into the newspapers of the other Colonies, with the signers' names. It is in the "Pennsylvania Chronicle" of June 6, 1769. These proceedings were hailed with joy by the popular party throughout the Colonies. Thus the name of Washington was brought before the people, at a critical period, in connection with a vital political measure.

Five years later, the popular excitement was driven to a high pitch by the penal measures of the Boston Port Act and the Regulating Act. Every cheek glowed with resentment, and every tongue was a flame of fire. This was the case in all the towns and counties in the thirteen Colonies. All eyes were now on public men. The freeholders of Fairfax County met (July 18, 1774) in Alexandria, devised means to aid the sufferers in Boston, and urged the people of Massachusetts to resist the obnoxious Regulating Act; but, if they should submit to this act, the citizens of Fairfax County would not hold the decision binding on them, but would inviolably adhere to such measures as the General Congress should devise for the preservation of their lives and liberties. The head-line over this great action has, in large capitals, the name of GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Esquire*, as the chairman. Here was the boldest of political action. It could hardly have failed to draw attention to, and to have fixed it upon, the soldier already so distinguished in the history of the Colonies.

At this period the newspapers copied an extract from a sermon by Rev. Samuel Davis, preached Aug. 17, 1755, and soon after printed. In this patriotic utterance he referred to "that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country."

Washington was one of the burgesses who called a convention of all the counties of Virginia to meet at Williamsburgh on the 1st of August; and he was a delegate to it from Fairfax County. He presented the resolutions adopted by it on the 18th ult., and is said "to have spoken in support of them in a strain of uncommon eloquence." He said, "I will raise one thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston." Though this was not printed, it was freely circulated, and is in the Diary of John Adams.

Washington was a member of the Congress of 1774. His service and standing in this body are fully related in the biographies of him. In order to be prepared for the last appeal, they recommended the Colonies to arm. Hence the citizens of Fairfax County, COLONEL GEORGE WASHINGTON in the chair, voted (Feb. 2, 1775) to enrol their militia, and to pay a tax of three shillings per poll to defray the expense for the purchase of arms, &c. They voted that the militia use their utmost endeavors to make themselves masters of "the militia exercise, as recommended by the Provincial Congress of the Massachusetts Bay on the 29th of October last." These proceedings were in the newspapers ("Essex Gazette," March 7, 1775).

Washington was brought to the notice of the popular leaders of Massachusetts in a peculiar manner. The committee who received the donations that were pouring in for the relief of the sufferers by the Port Act had on it men now of world-wide renown. They usually held their sessions in Faneuil Hall. It is not difficult to imagine the admiration that must have been elicited by the following words, in a letter dated Dec. 22, 1774, that, with a generous contribution, came from James County, Va.:—

"You may depend the Virginians are unanimous, steady, and firm to the cause they have embarked in, and will struggle hard for the prize now contending for. I have this very day heard, that, in that tract of Virginia called the Northern Neck, . . . they have lately raised one thousand volunteers, as fine fellows and good woodsmen as any on our continent, who have put themselves under the command of Colonel George Washington, a brave and experienced officer, who, it is said, has undertaken to command them; and that they are soon to march for your place."

This company was one of the independent companies of Virginia, who now put themselves under the direction of Washington as their field-officer. He reviewed them, and

instructed them in the military discipline. The Earl of Dunmore says (Dec. 24, 1774),—

“The association . . . adopted by what is called the Continental Congress are now enforcing throughout this country with the greatest rigor. A committee has been chosen in every county, whose business it is to carry the association of the Congress into execution. . . . Every county besides is now arming a company of men, whom they call an independent company, for the avowed purpose of protecting their committees, and to be employed against government if occasion require.”

The Whigs of Virginia said that they “acknowledged no other code but that laid down by Congress.” This was the work in which Washington was engaged this spring. He was often called from Mount Vernon to attend the field-parades of these companies.

At the age of forty-three Washington had a rare record. It was that of the military experience in the old French war; it was that of manly and bold political service, at critical seasons, in the controversy between the Colonies and the mother-country; and he was now in the field, substantially as the commander of the Virginia militia, sustaining the association of the Congress. All this revealed the man. Thus, in a time of unparalleled high-toned action, a people, by this revelation of sterling qualities, had their minds and hearts drawn towards him as their military leader. For this position “he almost unconsciously nominated himself” (Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc., June, 1858).

Washington attended the Congress on the 10th of May, 1775, in uniform. His utterances and his private letters show how fixed was his determination to embark his fortune and life in the cause. The contemporary notices of him by his fellow-members show the hold he had on those who saw him act. Yet I have not met in the newspapers, or even in private letters, down to this time, a suggestion that he was the proper person to be selected as the commander. There are a few words to this effect in a letter of May 7, 1775, from James Warren of Massachusetts,—a wish expressed to see him in the army. Another letter, of June 4, 1775, written by Elbridge Gerry, addressed to one of the delegates of Massachusetts in Congress, is more explicit. It says,—

“I should heartily rejoice to see this way the beloved Colonel Washington, and do not doubt the New-England generals would acquiesce in showing to our sister colony Virginia the respect which she has before experienced from the continent in making him generalissimo.

This is a matter in which Dr. Warren agrees with me, and we had intended to write you jointly on the affair."

Warren was one of the Donation Committee of Boston; and the letter already cited could not but have excited his generous nature. Such a letter, if it did not get into print, must have been known widely by the popular leaders.

The next contemporary suggestion is found in a letter of June 14, 1775, by a Virginia delegate in the Continental Congress, who wrote, —

"Colonel Washington has been pressed to take the supreme command of the American troops encamped at Roxbury, and I believe will accept the appointment, though with much reluctance, he being deeply impressed with the importance of that honorable trust, and diffident of his own (superior) abilities."

Before this, John Adams expressed undoubtedly the general conviction in and out of Congress, in the debate on the adoption of the army.

"I had," he said, "but one gentleman in my mind for that important command; and that was a gentleman from Virginia, who was among us, and very well known to all of us, — a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent universal character, would command the approbation of America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the Colonies better than any other person in the Union."

It is not easy to see how more appreciative words could have been spoken as to the character of Washington.

On the 15th of June, Thomas Johnson of Maryland moved in Congress, "that a general be appointed to command all the continental forces raised or to be raised for the defence of American liberty." John Adams seconded the motion. Then, on balloting, "George Washington, Esq., was unanimously elected." The next day (June 15, 1775), Silas Deane, a member of Congress, writes that "he was elected to that high office by the unanimous voice of all America." Dr. Ramsay (*History*, i. 216) says that the appointment "was accompanied by no competition, and followed by no envy. The same general impulse on the public mind which led the colonists to agree in many other particulars pointed to Washington" as the most proper person for that place. This would seem to be the simple truth as to this great appointment.

Washington stood under the venerable elm in Cambridge on the 3d of July as the commander-in-chief, by virtue of

a power which had been felt before the Congress, — a sentiment of union, or of country, or of American nationality. The popular party had come to this, although only a few of their far-sighted leaders saw it, — Washington now “abhorring the idea of independence.” This sentiment was a growth. It had its roots in the idea and principles which the people of the several Colonies had embodied in their institutions. It was through these, or under the legal forms which they provided, that they had chosen their local assemblies, and had formed a general Congress. This was universally recognized as the head of the American cause, and this body had invited Washington with authority as their representative. This formed a solid basis for law and order. It was a guaranty, not merely of the successful issue of the siege, but of the final triumph of the republic.

It is not my intention to follow the events of the siege, but only to give a few items that may illustrate the times. All the authorities here cited were not known to me at the time of the publication of “The Siege of Boston.”

The course of Washington rendered the situation of the British troops more and more uncomfortable. On the 8th of August, General Putnam sent to the British camp the following note : —

“General Putnam’s compliments to his old friend Major Moncrieffe. Is sorry he could not sooner send him some of the comforts of life. He now sends him (through the hands of Major Bruce) some mutton, beef, and fresh butter, which he begs his acceptance of, with a hearty welcome.”

The major’s answer : —

“Major Moncrieffe’s compliments to Colonel Putnam. Is much obliged to him for his attention, but begs, with respect to him, he would not put himself to the least inconvenience for the future. He is in a very good mess, and would not wish to be distinguished from his brother-officers. He obeyed his commands with respect to Mr. Simpson, whom he has not the pleasure of being acquainted with. The beef was delivered to the other prisoners, Phelps being dead. Humanity will always direct him to receive and forward any thing for their use ; and, if we abounded ourselves, they would have their share.”

In August the troops and the Tories cut down the famous Liberty Tree. The Tory view is seen in a soliloquy of the tree as they were cutting it down. It is copied from the “Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter” for Jan. 22, 1776. Some of the lines cannot be made out.

*The Soliloquy of the Boston Tree of Liberty, as they were cutting it down,
1776.*

And must I die? — but why complain?
Complaints and murmurings are in vain:
'Tis but the lot of beast and man,
And die we must do what we can.

My ancestors for centuries stood,
The pride and honor of the wood;
A royal race, a chosen band,
The ornaments of *Shawmut** land:
For centuries they yearly shed
The leafy honors of their head;
At each returning spring reviv'd
Their wonted vigor, grew and thriv'd:
Of wintry blasts they stood the shock,
The tempests, as they rag'd, they'd mock;
The rude attacks of winds which blew
They fac'd them all, and healthier grew.
Th' uncultur'd Indian, nature's care,
Did often to their shades repair
Himself to cool and to refresh,
Regaling on the fish and flesh
Which nature generously gave,
Free from the cheat of cultur'd knave,
Here he enjoy'd his simple fare,
Enjoy'd his sleep, unpress'd by care,
'Till *European* strangers came
With stealth, and robb'd him of his game;
He hunted beasts, they hunted men,
He fled and ne'er return'd again.

How happy is the *Indian's* lot!
Few cares he knows, *they* soon forgot:
No Av'rice with her griping paw,
No worries from the dogs of law;
In friendship, such as nature grants,
He lives, and very few his wants,
Grateful on nature's bounty looks,
Quenches his thirst at nature's brooks.

My parent dy'd when nature bid,
I spread my grandeur in his stead.
'Twas when that civil creature, man,
Unciviliz'd fair nature's plan,

* Shawmut was the Indian name of Boston. *Note in original.*

To flourish *then* it was my luck,
 When civil folks at nothing stuck,
 But would in . . .
 And nought went [down but] *tar and feather* ;
 Ah me ! unhappy ! hard my fate,
 T' outlive the ruin of the state.
 'Tis true, I flourish'd many a year,
 And spread my branches full and fair :
 My body large and hale and plump,
 Fair all around from top to stump,
 'Till that fierce creature huge of size,
 With hundred heads and saucer eyes,
 Christen'd by name of liberty,
 Repair'd with boisterous sounds to me, }
 And for their *god* they chose a tree. }


'Twas then I first knew what was pain,
 First knew that godliness was gain :
 Under my shade my vot'ries met,
 In weather cold, hot, dry or wet.
 With flaming zeal they goug'd my body,
 Inspir'd with rum, and gin, and toddy :
 On me they hung a jacko's boot,
 And gather'd thick about my root :
 They stifled me with s[oil] and stench,
 And from me did my branches wrench :
 A massy pole they then erected,
 And with a rebel standard deck'd it,
 To make the rabble shout and stare,
 Fling up their caps, and curse and swear.
 The pole it galled my body sore,
 Chaff'd off my bark, and branches tore.
 A copper plate they [nail'd] to me,
 through me ;
 My juices by such usage thicken'd,
 The circulation stopp'd, I sicken'd,
 My branches they decay'd apace,
 I found I'd almost ran my race,
 Should soon be forc'd, as mankind must,
 To lay my honors in the dust.
 Thanks to the hand that cuts me down :
 Thanks to the ax that lops my crown :
 The paths of vice I never trod,
 I boast, I liv'd *the people's god*.
 My trunk, may't be to fuel turn'd,
 By HOWE, be honor'd to be burn'd,
 That I to him may warmth impart,
 Who oft himself's warm'd many a heart.

If ever there should be a shoot,
 Spring from my venerable root,
 Prevent, oh heaven! it ne'er may see
 Such savage times of liberty:
 May it live long to see those times
 When justice dares to punish crimes;
 When GEORGE may see his laws regarded,
 And feel his virtues all rewarded:
 Live to rule over subjects loyal,
 And live rever'd, respected by all;
 Still in his sphere of virtue move,
 And feel returns of filial love;
 Trample rebellion under foot;
 And crush the monster, branch and root;
 Quell *Tylers, Cades, and Massianellos*, —
 Who sweat at puffing treason's bellows.
 From giving shades to mobs I go,
 Their future shades are *shades below*.

The following advertisements are copied from this issue of the "News-Letter": —

The fourth Subscription Ball will be held at Concert Hall on Thursday, the 29th instant, 1776.

* * Subscriptions are taken at the Printers in School-street, on Monday morning, from 10 to 2 o'clock (only).

 It is requested that gentlemen will be so good as to comply with the rules, — particularly with that for having the names of the Ladies wrote on the Back of their Tickets.

MASQUERADE.

On Monday, the 11th of March, will be given at Concert Hall, a Subscription Masked Ball. — By the fifth of March, a number of different masks will be prepared & sold by almost all the milliners and mantua makers in Town.

The following editorial notice appears under the date of Boston, Feb. 22: —

We hear ten capital cooks are already employed in preparing supper for the masquerade, which is to be the most brilliant thing ever seen in America.

The ancient and most benevolent of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick. The Principal Knot of the 47th Regiment is to meet at the Bunch of Grapes on Thursday the 29th inst. at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. . . . All the Friendly Brothers in the army are requested to meet at the same place at one o'clock, on business relating to the order in general.

J. H. CRAIG, *S. P. K. 47th Reg.*

The following items, under the head-line of New York, Feb. 8, show that the war was not yet general : —

Between two and three o'clock Sunday afternoon, His Excellency, General Lee, arrived here from the Eastward. He was escorted into town by Capt. Learys troops of Light Horse & a great number of our principal inhabitants.

The two armies from Connecticut & New Jersey are arrived in this town.

Sunday last arrived the Mercury Sloop of War, from Boston, with whom came Gen. Clinton (who is going to the southward), on a friendly visit to Governor Tryon.

Washington drew his lines closer round Boston, and each day General Howe grew more anxious. This constant work stirred a Halifax genius to shine in the following effusion : —

“ Ye Yankees who mole-like still throw up the Earth
And like them, to your follies are blind from your birth
Attempt not to hold British troops at defiance
True Britons with whom you pretend an alliance.
Mistake not, such blood ne'er run in your veins,
’Tis no more than the dregs, the lees or the drains ;
Ye affect to talk big of your hourly attacks,
Come on, and I’ll warrant we’ll soon see your backs,
Such threats of bravados seem only to warm
The true British hearts you ne’er can alarm ;
And the lion once rous’d will strike such a terror
Shall show your poor souls your presumption and error ;
And the time will soon come when your whole rebel race
Will be drove from the lands, nor dare more show your face.
Here’s a health to great George, may he fully determine
To root from the Earth all such insolent vermine.”

About this time there was quite a characteristic talk in Boston between an Englishman and an American on the bounds of the British empire in America. It is thus reported : —

A crafty American walking one day,
By chance a blunt Englishman lit on ;
Then dryly demanded — “ Now tell me my friend,
The bounds of the Empire of Britain ? ”

The Englishman, piqued at a question so home,
In an instant took fire like a rocket ;
And — swift to reply — first thrust in his hand,
And pulls out a map from his pocket.

"Behold this red line with my finger I trace :
 By THIS we our Empire bound, sir ;
 See ! Yonder it sweeps beyond Canada's lakes,
 Here circles your Colonies round, sir.

"By this both our force and our Empire's bounds
 Are formed to the fullest conviction."
 "I admit" (says the other) "its power and extent,
 But it is with some little restriction.

"For whilst on your maps you this Empire extend,
 By your little red line that's IDEAL ;
 You reflect not, its power is in Boston confin'd
 By a line of entrenchment that's real."

D. E.

The following lines appeared in the "London Chronicle" of Oct. 1, 1777, and the next day in the "General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer" :—

A Dialogue between General Prescott and the Officer of the Party that took him Prisoner.

Prescott.

Says the General when taken, to him who commanded,
 "This surprise shews more cunning than skill."

Officer.

Says the other, "An exchange may now be demanded,
 Till then you may rave as you will :
 Lee now will return if the Howes ever do,
 If not, you'll in durance remain :
 Should Lee be transported, your Honour will too
 Bear equal confinement and pain."

Prescott.

"Like cowards you run, when we meet in the field,
 Never stay to receive us as men."

Officer.

Says the other, "Delaying will force you to yield,
 Yet we skirmish and fight now and then :

"At Lexington races you shew'd a light heel,
 Bunker's-hill proves it plain we can fight ;
 The Hessian battalions most knowingly feel,
 At Trentown discover'd their fright.

"Never say we are cowards, of Boston possess'd,
Which Howe in a dreary dismay,
Left in haste much behind him, and thought himself bless'd,
To get his light baggage away.

"You feel we can fight, when occasion presents,
Your muster returns make it plain ;
Or over such cowards, what is it prevents,
To inflict your tyrannical chain ?

"Such manœuvres as these will not ministry please,
Next Christmas will make it appear ;
The **** too, will be quite robb'd of his ease,
With two such retreats in one year."

LETTERS ILLUSTRATING THE SIEGE.

*John Sullivan to Samuel Adams.**

CAMP ON WINTER HILL, Jan. 3, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR, — Give me leave to assure you that my not writing you often proceeds only from want of time, being over engaged upon some affair or other that wholly engrosses my attention, though nothing of consequence has as yet resulted from our endeavor for want of an article so material as powder which next to money is the life and support of an army. I am almost ashamed to write when I can give account of no matters of consequence which has as yet turned up. Jack Frost has been promising us a bridge but alas it is now going to decay which prevents any attempt upon Boston for the present. During the last cold spell I solicited and obtained license from General Washington to make an attack upon Bunker Hill to sieze their out guards and burn the houses they use as barracks. I marched about two in the morning with an advance party of three hundred followed by a number with matches port fire and faggots covered by another party of about a thousand with which I meant if an opening presented to dispute the property of Bunker's Hill (then guarded only by five hundred men). The generals Putnam Heath and Green had their forces ready to assist if necessary. I had also a party of two hundred more to amuse them by a feint attack upon the other side the hill. We passed on to the creek and found the channel so weak that it could not be crossed ; indeed it was so weak as not to resist a small stroke with the butt end of a musket for which reason I was forced to return home *ashamed*. I had sent some officers the night before to reconoitre, who told me that they had gone almost across and found the ice sufficiently strong which by the way *was* true — for they went to a place where the channel ran close to the other side and supposed they had crossed, but the channel

* I am unable to say with positiveness who wrote this letter ; but, from circumstances, I ascribe it to General Sullivan. — R. F.

being crooked and my advance party going on in a different place, met the channel much nearer the side, which stopped our progress and defeated our intentions. I am however determined to be very busy with them as soon as the weather will permit.

I this moment received his Majesty's most graceless speech of the 26 of October last, and much applaud the moderation of our worthy senators in bearing with so much coolness the reflections cast upon them by his Majesty. He says they have been preparing for a revolt — while they were trying to amuse by the strongest protestations of loyalty! I, sincerely wish that our present situation did not prove the falsity of this declaration and the folly we have been guilty of in not giving his Majesty more foundation for this libel. I hope by this time you are all convinced that we have nothing to hope from Great Britain, and that you will act that part which even malice itself must now justify. That your councils may be guided by wisdom and that the results of your deliberations may procure *independence*, and safety to your country is dear sir the earnest prayer of your most

Obedient servant

Hon. S. ADAMS.

*Extract of a Letter to a Gentleman in Philadelphia, dated Cambridge,
Jan. 9, 1776.*

Last evening, (January 8,) General Putnam achieved what our friend on Winter-Hill attempted. Major Knowlton commanded the party; Minchin, and a deserter, who lately came out, were the guides; about one hundred and thirty passed, near nine o'clock, over the mill-dam; Majors Cary and Henly had each a party, and the former was to push to the farthest house; (if you recollect, there was, to your right from Cobble-Hill, when you looked towards Bunker's Hill, about fifteen houses, which had escaped the conflagration on the 17th of June.) The plan was, to surprise these houses, set them on fire, and bring off the guard, which, we were informed, consisted of an officer and thirty men; but the information was wrong, as there was only a sergeant and five men. The persons appointed to set fire to the houses nearest the dam, had orders not to execute it until Cary had returned from the farthest; but, eager to fulfil what they had undertaken, they were the first that appeared in flames; sometime after, the whole was one blaze of fire. Had I Burgoyne's knack at description, I assure you, a picture might be drawn that would afford great horror, and, at the same time, great entertainment. Bunker's Hill took the alarm; the flashing of the musketry, from every quarter of that fort, showed the confusion of its defenders — firing, some in the air, some in the Mystick river; in short, they fired at random, and thought they were attacked at every quarter, which, you may suppose, gave no small pleasure to the General and a number of us who were spectators of the scene, from Cobble-Hill. Ten of the houses were soon in ashes.

The sergeant and four of the men, with one woman, were brought off prisoners; one poor wretch made some resistance, and was killed.

Knowlton behaved like a man used to the business ; your friend Minchin with great coolness ; Cary and Henly receive merited applause ; indeed, every person engaged, did his duty, except being rather too eager in setting the first house on fire. It is the opinion of many, that, if there was a vigorous attack made, the hill might be carried with little loss ; but it was not designed ; of course, no preparations were made for such a push.

James Warren to Samuel Adams, Jan. 14, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR,—I now sit down to write to you after a longer interval than the obligations I readily acknowledged myself under for your several favors can justify. Since my last I have been to Plymouth, and been so crowded with business here that I have not been able to gratify my own inclinations, or comply with your desires ; very few things however have turned up here worthy of your notice. The military operations are the same now as they have been for months past — purely defensive — and guarding against the excursions of the enemy ; excepting a little affair which happened last Monday night, which though not very important, was well executed, and is not without good effects ; inuring our soldiers to service, giving them fresh spirits, and encouraging enlistments. I mean the burning the houses in Charlestown — the particulars of which I dare say you will have before this reaches you. I wish it was in my power to give you a more favorable account of the state of the army than it is. The enlistments by no means answer my expectations, nor can I account for this backwardness in a way satisfactory to myself. I cannot give you the exact number, but doubt whether they exceed 10 or 11,000 after all “the amazing diligence” and trouble of the general, assisted by endeavors of individuals, as well as the general court. I am very anxious about this matter. It is high time that our army was established. I could have wished that some other mode had at first been adopted, but it is now too late to rectify any original error. We must go on and do as well as we can. I shall only mention to you that I think the service has suffered and the enlistments been embarrassed, by the low state in which you keep your treasury here. Had the general been able to have paid off the old army to the last of December when their term expired and to give assurances for the pay of the militia when their continuance in the army should end, it might have produced many good effects — among others, added some thousands to the army. You will be surprised perhaps, when I tell you there is but about 10,000 dollars here ; and that left by the necessary parsimony of the general, not knowing what occasion there might be for a little. The time for which our militia came in, ends to-morrow. We have presumed so much on the public spirit of our countrymen as to make no other provision, though every thing depends on their staying, and they wish to be at home. Our house adjourned yesterday morning, and the members went down among them to use their influence. I flatter myself most of them will stay to the last of this month. Our naval operations have been for a while suspended, the privateers mostly hauled up. I can

therefore give you no account of any late captures. I hear they are again fixing and hope they will soon have their usual success. Our general court are extremely busy — the business crowding on them is indeed without bounds. Besides the common business and the availing ourselves of our present situation to make some and repeal other laws — the necessary attention we are obliged to give the army is a very great addition to it. Could your congress be sensible of our assiduity, and the cheerfulness with which we submit to this trouble, and a great expense of time and money for the public good, it would of itself be an irrefragable argument of the public spirit which reigns here. The continual calls for aid to the army, in wood, hay, blankets, arms, men, &c. are of themselves sufficient to employ us, the length of our usual sessions. We have however been so long used to climbing mountains that we go on with a perseverance that demands admiration. I am sensible the circumstances you mention must give you pain. They are indeed not just. You must however extend your charity, and make allowances to some of the authors. I really believe the great perplexities they have been involved in, have prevented their seeing things in their true light. The principal things peculiar to ourselves, that we have been engaged in, is a militia bill, which with much difficulty is now nearly completed. It is too lengthy and would be too tedious to give you a particular account of. It may suffice to say, that all polls from sixteen to fifty, with the usual exceptions, are to form the train-band; and the alarm much as usual. It provides for three major generals in the colony and a brigadier in every county, where are more than one regiment, who with the field officers of the regiments are to be chosen by either house with the concurrence of the other and commissioned by the council. A ship is arrived at Falmouth which left England the beginning of Nov. By her we have the addresses of both houses in the usual style some additions to the minority. Parliament and administration going on the same way as usual &c. &c. which are things of no great consequence. The passengers relate some interesting facts: that the people begin to feel and stir themselves, that 1,800 troops sailed for Boston were drove back by hard gales of wind in a shattered condition that 13,000 sheep and hogs were shipped and sailed for Boston, drove back and lost, which are to be ranked in that train of events providence has ordered for the salvation of this country. You are to have the papers from the general and so I shall add no more, but improve the little time left me to inquire whether your congress should not by this time have a fixed constitution, that we may honor and consider as permanent, whether it is not time that you should form your alliances as the — has his. What is become of your club? What is the destination of the French armament in the West Indies — and whether you can't improve so favorable a circumstance to our advantage &c. &c. If we are not yet ripe for wise, prudent, and spirited measures when shall we be? But I must leave these inquiries and expect that if consistent with your engagements and honor you will tell me more than I ask for. Our good friend Mr. J. Adams will set out in a week or 10 days. I wish him with

you, as I think this must be an important crisis, and I hope will produce great events.

I am with the greatest sincerity
Your friend

JAMES WARREN.

We are improving the manufacture of saltpetre with great rapidity. We expect in three weeks Newburyport alone will make 100 lb. per day, powder-mills are also building.

No news from Canada later than 5 December, when the armies were joined reinforced by Canadians and in good health and spirits and all appearances favorable.

17th. We were called on for more men to come in to serve till the 1st of April. Seven regiments to consist of 728 each. Connecticut for four, New Hampshire for two — in all thirteen. All which will but complete the army to your establishment; from which you may judge of the present situation of it. Two prizes carried in yesterday to Newburyport by a small privateer: one a ship from London with coal and porter, the other a brigantine from Ireland with provisions.

Dr. S. Cooper to S. Adams, 23d January, 1776. [Extract.]

He (Elbridge Gerry) will tell you of the various applications to the general court upon the exigencies of the army, some of which I think might have been avoided; and of their uncommon exertions upon these occasions; and the zeal and unanimity with which they have aided the common cause. Great confidence is reposed in the coolness wisdom and firmness of the general to surmount all difficulties. I have seen London papers to the 2nd November. The opposition increases, but administration has still a great majority in both houses: and it appears upon the whole that they will exert all their force against us early in the spring.

By a vessel arrived at Boston there is an account of Gen. Gage's arrival, but no further intelligence has yet reached us. I saw your son yesterday, who gave me the pleasure of assuring me your family are well. I rejoice to hear of your health and spirits under your great public exertions, and wish you the continual direction and support of Heaven. Pray remember me to all friends, to the members for this province; and particularly to the president. I received a kind message from him by Mr. Cushing. Be so good as to write to me soon, even though you should think I do not deserve it; and I will endeavor to be more punctual in time to come. I am sir with the greatest regard and affection

Your old and constant friend
and humble servant

S. COOPER.

To Hon. S. ADAMS, Esq.

James Warren to Samuel Adams, Feb. 14, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have neglected writing to you by several opportunities prevented by various reasons, among others, by the hurry attending the close of a sessions. We have been about rising for a week past, but new matters continually pressing upon us has delayed it to this day. The design is to be up this evening, but I suspect the same cause will delay us one day longer. I have just left the house being very unwell. I intend to set out for home in the morning if I feel any ways fit for a journey. I have endeavored to get the pamphlet you mentioned, but have not succeeded. I have not had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Adams and can't learn what the title is; however I conjecture it may be Common Sense — which I have seen, and am (I dare say you will believe) among the many admirers of it, and therefore shan't blame you on account of its differing from my sentiments. The sentiments, the principles, and the whole book are prodigiously admired here by the best judges. Dr. Winthrop and Major Hawly are charmed with it. We three should certainly vote for a declaration of independence without delay, being fully convinced of the advantage and necessity of it: what can prevail with the congress to hesitate — when will the time and circumstances more proper arrive; can they ever? I dread the postponing this step; and I dread the more because I find the house of Lords, have got before them your petition; if they accept your offers, and close with you on your own terms, how are you to get clear of it? and if you can't where shall we be and what shall we do next? then certainly we shall not be in so good a situation for such a measure as now, besides spring is almost arrived when we shall want every aid and every advantage; therefore guard against the embarrassments that may be the consequence of treating, and proposals of reconciliation by taking a step in its nature and I hope in your intention as unalterable as the laws of the Medes &c. I wish I could give you anything pleasing or even new, but there is a perfect dearth of news here. No military operations on our side have yet taken place — the general is yet in want of powder sufficient to enable him to undertake anything of consequence. Last night a detachment of the enemy got on Dorchester Hill, burnt several buildings and took four or five prisoners, and then retreated without any loss. I can't ascertain the particulars of this affair which though not great is somewhat mortifying — no prizes lately taken. We have ordered a committee to furnish you with our journals and acts as fast as they are printed; by which you will be able to form some judgment how we spend our time. The reinforcement of the army by our militia is more than equal to my expectations and I believe equal to the call for them. I hope to hear from you soon. Where is your fleet. My regards to Mr. J. Adams and Gerry, and Col. Hancock. I shall write to Mr. Adams by first opportunity. I can't add more this evening but that I am your friend

JAMES WARREN.

I am directed by the house to desire our delegates to furnish us

with three or four sets of the printed journals of your August body. I have lost the vote or would enclose it.

We have not surmounted all our difficulties in forming the militia by completing the bill. The house chose Col. Hancock the first, your humble servant the second, and Col. Orne the third, Major generals. The board non-concurred [in] the second because they think as they say the choice militates with a clause in the act; forgetting it did as much so with the choice of several of their honors as military officers brigadiers &c. The vote by means of the non-concurrence is again before us. I am unable to say what the house will do with it. Orne refuses. Col. Hancock is objected to as being unable to attend &c. It lays for the present and will 'till next session. Thompson for Cumberland is among the brigadiers and concurred and gives much uneasiness in that county; and I suppose some others will in others. I am glad to be out of the list, but the council have done it in a manner as ungracious and indelicate as Bernard or Hutchinson would have done; for which reason I have serious thoughts of quitting my civil commission and become an independent man. Saltpetre comes in finely, and we have given encouragement to build two more powder mills.

Horatio Gates to John Adams.

HEAD QRS., 8th March, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — Monday Night Two Thousand men under the Command of Brigadier General Thomas, took possession of Dorchester Heights: a vast Quantity of Materials being previously collected, especially Chandiliers & Fascines. Our Troops were soon cover'd; and long before day, began to Break Ground to thicken their defences against the Enemy's Cannon.

To conceal our design, & divert the Enemy's attention, a very Heavy Service of Cannon & Mortars, began to play upon the Town, between ten & eleven, Saturday night, from our Three Fortified Batteries at Cobble Hill, Letchmere point, & Lamb's Dam; this was continued all that night, & the two succeeding. The Enemy return'd The Fire constantly, but always ceased as we did, in the Mornings. Our Shot must have made great havock amongst the Houses, as I am confident they swept the Town: what Loss, otherwise suffer'd by the Enemy, we are Ignorant, as neither Townsman nor Deserter has yet come in to acquaint us. Monday morning at Sun-rise, expecting The Enemy would attempt to Force our New Works upon the Heights, everything was prepared for their proper reception; and a large Body of Troops were drawn up near Cambridge River, with Orders upon a Signal Given, to Embark on board the Flat Bottom'd Boats, & in Two Divisions push into Boston; but the Enemy disappointed us by remaining Sullen & Sulkey in Boston; suffering our Works upon the Heights to be carried on without any other molestation than now & then a Feint Cannonade upon Dorchester Neck; & even this ceas'd with the day. For neither side have since fired a Shott at each other. By Monday morning our Redoubts will be Finish'd & Barracks for

600 Men; so all that Peninsula may now be called ours, as the Cannon on the Heights Commands the whole of it. The behaviour of the Enemy since Monday strongly indicates their intention of removing from Boston; as their Heavy Cannon, Powder, &c., has been seen & heard Transporting from Bunker's Hill and the upper parts of the Town, to the Wharfs next the Shipping, for several days past: & this morning a Quantity of Bedding is observed putting on board Transports at the Long Wharf. Before we are quite ready to advance our Batteries upon Dorchester Point, I suspect the Enemy will Embarque. A few days will shew if am or am not mistaken. I was disappointed in not receiving your High Mightyness's Act of Independency by the Last Post.

The Middle way, the best, we sometimes call,
But 'tis in Politicks, no way at all.

Shew this immediately to my Worthy Friend T. Johnson, & remember I have begun to fulfill my promise to you.

I am, Dear Sir, with great Esteem

Your affectionate Humble Servant,

HORATIO GATES.

Joseph Ward to John Adams.

CAMP AT ROXBURY, 14 March, 1776.

SIR, — The 2 inst. at night we began a 'cannonade & bombardment upon the Enemy, and continued it three nights successively: on the 4th at night we threw up works upon the heights on Dorchester Point. The next morning the *Pirates* in Boston & in the Harbour appeared to be in great agitation, and every day and night since have been preparing (according to our observations & the information from Town) to leave Boston. During our fire upon them, they returned it warmly with shot & shells, but thro' the good Providence of God, we lost but one Subaltern & four Privates in this Camp, & one private only in Cambridge. Several were slightly wounded. A sally was generally expected from the enemy when we took post on Dorchester Point, but there has been very little appearance of such a design. Since we are possessed of the heights which command the Town, it is generally apprehended the Pirates will go to New York or the Southern Colonies. *May all the winds of Heaven oppose them.* If the Enemy leave Boston, I trust measures will be immediately taken, to prevent them from being able ever to come into the Harbour again.

No important occurrences have taken place, which you have not been acquainted with. The Army is ordered to be ready to march, in case the Enemy should remove. Genl Ward's health being so precarious, he talks of resigning: if he should, what post will be assigned for me, or whether any, I know not; if any thing either in the Civil or Military should offer, wherein I could serve my Country, I shall continue in the public Service.

Our Privateers continue successful; & every appearance & the general state of things, affords I think, an encouraging prospect; and if

we persevere I cannot doubt but we shall soon see our Country in Freedom, Peace & Safety.

I hope COMMON SENSE will convince every doubting mind, with regard to the propriety & necessity of forming a *Government in America*. It is a glorious performance, & I think I see strong marks of *your pen* in it. I am persuaded the war would not be long if these sentiments were adopted, and that America would soon be the admiration & glory of the World. I trust Heaven will direct to it, & for which I ardently wish.

Gen! Ward desires his Compliments to you & to your worthy Colleagues in Congress.

May the God of our Fathers direct all the Councils of America. I am, Sir, with great respect, &c.,

JOSEPH WARD.

Hon. JNO. ADAMS, Esq.

John Sullivan to John Adams.

WINTER HILL, March 15th, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — Your very acceptable Favour of the 7th Inst. came to hand this day. You could not have conferred a greater obligation on me than by giving yourself the Trouble to write me; but when you give me to understand that my Services are acceptable in your Eyes, & in the Eyes of the Congress in General, I already esteem myself fully rewarded for all my Toils, & cannot but persevere in my Endeavour to Deserve the good opinion of the Congress & my Country.

The Enemy after having been severely handled by our Shot & Shells for a few nights, found us in full possession of Dorchester Heights. This threw them into the utmost consternation. They Endeavoured to Elevate their Cannon, so as to reach our works, by sinking the Hinder wheels of the Cannon into the Earth, but after an unsuccessful Fire of about two Hours, they grew weary of it, & Desisted. They then ordered Lord Piercey with 3000 Troops, on board the Transports & to proceed to the Castle; from whence he was to come & attack our works on the South, while the Grenadiers & Light Infantry were to land from Boston on the north point of Dorchester — called Nook Point, & attack our Lines on the other side. This was no more than we expected, & had therefore prepared Signals at Roxbury to notify us of the Enemy's movement; & upon their making an attack at Dorchester, we were to land in our Boats on the North of Boston, and carry the Town, sword in hand. I was appointed to Command the first Division, & General Green the Second. General Heath was to remain in Cambridge with the Troops left here, & the attack was to be made with 4000, we not having Boats to carry more. Our Boats were prepared, & men Paraded by them ready to Embark, & all seemed to be in longing Expectation for the Signal: but the Renowned Lord Piercey Disappointed us, for he, instead of his Prospect Glass, took a multiplying Glass, & viewed our people from the Castle, & made them fifty thousand,

when in fact, we had only sent on four thousand. This prevented their attack & Depriv'd us the pleasure of walking the Streets of Boston for that time. The Troops then thought of nothing but quitting the Town, & have been ever since, preparing for their Departure.

TUESDAY, March 19, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—I had not time on the 15th Inst. to finish my Letter, & now beg Leave to give you some further Intelligence, viz. On Saturday Evening our People took possession of Nook Hill near Boston. They continued a Cannonading all night without hurting a man. In the morning they found the approaches so near, & being suspicious that we were about taking possession of Noddle's Island, they embarked early on Sunday morning, & fell down to the Castle. We saw the ships under way about 8 in the morning, & the River full of Boats with armed Soldiers. This gave an alarm, as some suspected they were about to land at Dorchester, but having a full view of them with a Glass from Plow'd Hill, I found they were going on board the Ships. I then took my Horse, & rode down to Charlestown Neck, where I had a clear view of Bunker Hill. I saw the Sentries standing as usual with their Firelocks shouldered, but finding they never moved, I soon suspected what Regiment they belonged to; and upon taking a clear view with my Glass found they were only Effigies set there by the flying Enemy. This convinced me that they were actually fled, for if they meant to Decoy us, they would have taken away every appearance of man. By this time, I was joined by Col^l Mifflin, who, with my Brigade Major agreed to go up, sending two persons round the works to Examine whether there was any of them in the Rear of the works, while we went up in the front. I, at the same time sent for a strong party to follow us on to the Hill, to assist us in running away (if necessary). We found no person there & bravely took a fortress Defended by Lifeless Sentries. I then brought on the Party to secure what we had so bravely won, & went down to the other works where we found all abandoned, but the works not injured in any part. We hailed the ferry Boat, which came over & Informed us that they had abandoned the Town. We then gave Information to the General, who ordered me with the Troops under my Command to take possession of Charlestown, & General Putnam with 2000 men, to take possession of the works in Boston; and on Monday morning His Excellency made his Entry into Boston, & Repaired to Mr. Hancock's House, where we found his Furniture left without Injury or Diminution. Indeed, General Grant sent for the man left in Charge of the House, & desired him to Examine whether any of the Furniture was damaged, which he said was not, (though I believe the Brave General had made free with some articles in the Cellar). Indeed, the Buildings, except the old wooden ones, have suffer'd but very little from the Rebel Army. We found about forty good Cannon,—a few 13 inch mortars, & great quantity of Stores, which they in their Hurry have left for our use. They spiked up the Cannon, but we can easily clear them. I shall this Day visit

your House, or rather, mine, & inform you what state it is left in, & for your sake and the Lady's who gave it me; as well as my own, shall see that no Injury is done to it in future 'till I can have the pleasure of seeing you and your family in full possession. I expect to march for New York in two or three days, — part of our army having marched some days since, & the whole is to follow, to prevent them getting possession of that Important Post. I have seen Common Sense & admire it. It takes well with the Army & the People in General, & I hope so Rational a Doctrine will be established throughout the Continent as the only Doctrine which will work out the Salvation of America. — You ask me if we have Col^s fit for Brigadiers, & who they are. I will undertake to Recommend one, viz. Col^o. Stark, who is an old veteran, & has better pretensions than any other Col^o in the Army, though by Down right Dint of Blunder, he was Ranked below other Col^s in the Army; when by the very Principles the Committee pretended to go upon, he should have been the first; — this Recommendation I submit to your wise Consideration. I beg you to make my most Respectful Compliments to Col^o. Hancock, Messrs. Adams, Pain & Gerry, & believe me to be, D^r Sir, with much respect,

Your most obed^t Serv^t

Hon. JNO ADAMS, Esq.

JNO SULLIVAN.

*Diary of Samuel Bixby.**

SUTTON, Mass., May 4, 1775.

Took our journey, and encamped this night at Sudbury.

5th. Took our journey, & pitched our tents in Roxbury.

6th. It is said the regulars were about to make an attack somewhere; and about 6 o. c. P.M. the Army was on the Grand parade. The Col. ordered us to lie by our arms & ammunition all night. But there was no disturbance.

14th. Last Sunday the Meeting House was full of soldiers, and news came that the regulars were landing on Dorchester Point. The Gen^l ordered the drums beat to arms, and as soon as the drums sounded, the soldiers were out of the Meeting House in the twink of an eye. We paraded, and marched to Dorchester Neck, as it was said, the enemy was landing from the Castle. It proved to be a false alarm, and we returned to our quarters. We were ordered to lie by our arms through the night.

27th. Saturday. About 200 men were detached to go to the Point to guard it. About 9 or 10 o. c. in the evening we heard the cannon roar, and the small arms crack for about an hour, in the direction of Marblehead or Medford, as we thought. We have since learnt that it was Col. Putnam, & his men on Noddle's Island, where he engaged the regulars, and took 300 sheep, & 200 lambs. One ship run aground, & they burnt it. He also took some cattle.

* He was in Isaac Bolster's Company, of Sutton, in Colonel Larned's Regiment. Enlisted May 1, to serve to Dec. 31, 1775.

June 1st. Thursday. Now I shall endeavour to put some things upon record every day, that are transacted during my campaign. We heard to-day that a soldier over at Cambridge was deeply in love, & wished to go home to see his *dear*, and being refused leave of absence by his Captain, (Wood) went into a barn and hanged himself. Two others died of sickness the same night.

2d. Friday. Guards & fatigues as usual.

3d. Saturday. Drawed provisions for Sunday; namely, Bread, Dry-fish, Potatoes, Butter, Rice, &c.

4th. Sunday. Nothing remarkable.

5th. Monday. This day is "Artillery Election;" but it was not much thought of by the soldiers. About 12 o. c. the regulars fired from the Fortification; and they fired from the Castle at a party of our men on shore digging clams, but did no damage. Our men picked up one of the balls, a 24 pounder, and carried it to the Gen^l, who gave them two gall^s of rum. A party of our men out towards Noddle's Island captured a barge and four men belonging to a man of war, & carried it ashore at Cambridge, and this day brought the barge to Roxbury in a cart, with the sails up and three men in it. It was marched round the meeting-house, while the Engineer fired the Cannon for joy.

6th. Tuesday. Orders to wash the floor of the Barracks, and clean out every hole and corner, and to sweep the yards. Gen^l Thomas and Heath went to Dorchester Point to view & lay out a place where to entrench, in order to storm the Castle. The regulars fired three times at them with their Cannon, but did no harm. Our sentries stopped a team going into Boston with a load of hay. They threw the hay off, & found 2 calves, 32 watches, a great number of letters, some veal, several boxes butter, 2 bushels green peas, and some mutton.

7th. Wednesday. William Waite of Sutton, went into Boston with his team, and carried a load of goods back for the liberty men in Boston.

8th. Thursday. A man to be whipped 20 lashes for stealing.

9th. Friday. The man who was going into Boston with the hay &c. was tried by a Court Martial, and acquitted, as he proved not to be a Tory. —

June 10th, 1775. Saturday. Nothing remarkable.

11th. Sunday. Last night Mr. Evans died of the pleurisy.

12th. Monday. General Orders: That every man shall turn out at the break of day on the Grand parade till further orders.

13th. General Court Martial. A man sentenced to 20 lashes and drummed out of camp for striking without cause, a soldier. — Eight ships sailed into Boston harbor to day.

14th. Wednesday. Squire Pain's son of Worcester went into Boston with his horse. The sentries searched his saddle bags, & then let him pass.

15th. Thursday. Nothing remarkable.

16th. Friday. Firing by the regulars in Boston. Went on the Grand

parade, where about 300 men were drawn for the Point Piquet, and about 600 to entrench the piquet.

About 9 o. c. P. M. the regulars in Boston fired an alarm, and rung the bells. We heard them drawing the carriages to the neck, & the riding of horses with great speed up to their guard and back into Boston, and there was great commotion there. It was supposed they were preparing to attack us in the morning, but no special orders were issued. The town seemed to be alive with men marching in all directions.

June 17th, 1775. Saturday. Col. Putnam with a large party went on to a hill in Charlestown, called Bunker's Hill, last night to entrench, & this morning the British discovered him, & commenced firing at the men on the hill. A heavy fire was opened at Col. Putnam from the ships, & also from the fortifications in Boston. The regulars went over in barges in great numbers and landed in Charlestown to attack Col. Putnam. Our men returned the fire smartly, and the battle appeared to rage fiercely. The entrenchment was not quite completed, and our men having spent their ammunition, still defended themselves bravely, but were obliged to retreat. The regulars set houses on fire, & did all manner of mischief. Col. Putnam retreated to another hill, & went to entrenching there, while the British kept up a constant fire upon him.

About noon we fired an alarm, & rung the bells in Roxbury; and every man was ordered to arms, as an attack was expected.

Col. Larned marched his Reg^t up to the meeting house, & then to the burying yard, which was the alarm post, where we laid in ambush with two field pieces placed to give it to them unawares, should the regulars come.

About 6 o. c. the enemy drew in their sentries, & immediately a heavy fire was opened from the Fortification. The balls whistled over our heads, & through the houses, making the clap-boards and shingles fly in all directions.

Before the firing had begun, the Gen^l ordered some men down the street to fall some apple trees across the street, to hinder the approach of their Artillery.

Lieut Hazeltine picked up a 12 lbs ball — we were anxious to get their balls as though they were gold balls. The firing is still kept up at Charlestown & Cambridge. The enemy threw bomb-shells hourly into Roxbury during the night. Col. Larned ordered his Reg^t to encamp in the safest place. Our company took cover behind a hill.

18th, Sunday. Paraded at the burying yard, & then went into quarters. The firing of cannon & small arms continued at Charlestown and Cambridge, and several more houses burnt. A man belonging to the Connecticut Reg^t was struck in the shoulder by a cannon ball, & died this morning. No other man was hurt in Roxbury. The Rhode Islanders laid out a piece of ground for an entrenchment, & went to work entrenching. Gen^l Thomas ordered them to cease work, but they swore they would not, and he thought best to let them go on with the work.

June 19th, 1775. Monday. Our men were ordered to another place to entrench. We hear from Cambridge that Col! Putnam is entrenching, & that the regulars are still firing at him.

20th. Tuesday. Entrenching here and at Cambridge, and but little firing.

21st. Wednesday. A fatigue party to cut *facines* for the Fort. We cannot go nearer the Point now, than on to Dorchester neck, as the enemy might cut us off from the way of the marsh; and with their Guns of the Ships & Blockhouse. Our sentries spied 3 men of war-men on shore, & fired at them. Two were killed.

About 4 o. c. p. m. The Rev. M. Paine of Sturbridge preached a sermon to our Regt from Judges 20th c. 28th v. "Shall I yet again go out to battle against the children of Benjamin, my brother?"

22d. Thursday. We are still entrenching here & in Cambridge, & making our position as strong and secure as we can. We have thrown up a strong work across the street, and also one across the road to Dorchester. The enemy has withdrawn the sentries to the Fortification.

Within three weeks 14 Ships have arrived in Boston harbor.

23d. Friday. Nothing new this day, unless it is new to dig graves. We can see the regulars, with the spy glass digging graves in Boston. — We are still building the Fort.

June 24th, 1775. Saturday. A house near our entrenchment was ordered to be taken down, as it might be set on fire by a bomb-shell & render the entrenchment too hot for us. A party soon began the work, and about 1 o. c., the British opened a fire upon them.

Col. Larned paraded at the Burying Yard, & the regulars continued to fire shells at us.

A house on (Boston) Neck, called "Brown's House" was used by the regulars for a Guard House; and a party of our men obtained leave to set it on fire, and burn them out. But they were discovered too soon, & did not succeed. The parties had a pretty smart skirmish. Our party had two men killed. But we brought down a field piece & gave them a few shots; the first ball fired went through the house & drove them out. The firing was continued on both sides for some time. Two houses in Roxbury were set on fire.

25th. Sunday. Another attempt was made to burn the "Brown House," but we did not succeed. One man wounded. Our men returned the fire of the regulars briskly. Smart skirmishing with the enemy throughout the day on the neck, (Boston.) They lost several men.

26th. Monday. The guards kept a firing with small arms during the day. About sun-set the Rhode Islanders marched down to the guard, & fired 7 or 8 times at the regulars; & they returned three shots. No damage done to our men.

27th. Tuesday. We are building defences on Dorchester Neck. The Regulars fire at us occasionally. A man under guard jumped out of the garret window, and killed himself.

28th. Wednesday. A soldier was drummed out of camp for defaming the General.

29th. Thursday. Haynes Larned, son of Col. Larned, crept down to near the regular's guards last night, and fired at one of the sentries, and *dropt* him.

30th. Friday. General Orders:—The Drummers & Fifers shall parade at Head Quarters at 8 o'clock A.M. each day to call the Main Guard, & at 4 o'clock P.M. to call the Regt on to the Grand Parade. Also, that all sorts of gaming, such as card playing & the like, shall be suppressed. Last night, the Rhode Islanders went down to the guard with a field piece, & fired nine times at the regulars. They returned three shots.

July 1st. Saturday. We are fortifying on all sides, and making it strong as possible around the Fort. We have two 24 lbs. Cannon, & forty balls to each. We have hauled apple trees, with limbs trimmed sharp & pointing outward from the Fort. We finished one *platform*, & placed the Cannon on it just at night, and then fired two balls into Boston.

2d. Sunday. This morning at 4 o'clock the regulars opened a heavy fire at us which was continued till about 7 o'clock, sending in among us balls, bomb-shells, carcasses, & stink pots. One house was burnt. We mounted guard at the usual hour, & marched to the Col's quarters and attended prayers; after which we returned to our quarters, with orders to keep ourselves ready for a start; and should there be no alarm before 2 o'clock P.M. the Regt would attend public worship at the Col's Quarters. There was no alarm, & we accordingly attended the Divine Worship.

Our Company drew powder & balls enough to make up 30 rounds to each man.

3d. Monday. Orders from the Congress:—That the Captains of the several Companies shall make returns of the age & height of the men of their respective Companies:—where born—whether sons or servants:—when enlisted, & who under.

4th. Tuesday. James Wood, a soldier, broke his arm wrestling.

5th. Wednesday. Both of the new Generals, Washington and Lee, came into town (Roxbury) to day.

6th. Thursday. A flag of truce came from Boston, & was suspected as a spy. We were ordered to lie by our arms. I slept with my gun in my arms, & used my cartridge box for a pillow.

July 7th, 1775. Friday. Nothing.

8th. Last night we planted two pieces of artillery within range of the enemy's out post on the neck. About sun rise this morning a fire was opened on their guard house, which took fire. Our men fired with small arms also. Two regulars were killed. A floating battery was brought into the Bay near us, but we drove them away with our artillery. On this fight, our party burnt two houses & one barn, took 1 gun, 1 Bayonet, 1 halbert, & it is reported we killed several of the enemy.

A *flag* came into Roxbury camp from Boston with letters.

9th. Sunday. Cut down apple trees & trimmed the limbs sharp, & built a sort of breast work across the road, with their points toward Boston to stop the light horse, should they come to attack us.

10th. Monday. Nothing remarkable.

11th. Tuesday. Last night a party went to attack Brown's Store. It was the only house left standing on the Neck this side of the Fortification. The store was set on fire, and a smart firing of small arms was kept up on both sides.

12th. Wednesday. Last Wednesday a detachment of about 400 men marched down to Weymouth, & from there went in whaleboats to an Island, & captured 13 men, 2 boys, 2 women, 200 sheep, 19 head horned cattle, & several hogs. The 45 boats landed at Dorchester, & the 13 men were brought to Roxbury.

13th. Thursday. The regulars fired at our fatigue party which was throwing up an embankment on the marsh to set piquets in.

The regulars fired shot & shells at times during the day. Reuben Stockwell, of Sutton, died this afternoon about 3 o'clock of the camp distemper. He belonged to Capt. Daggett's Company, & was in his 20th year of age.

14th. Friday. Last night a party undertook to capture the enemy's sentries, but did not succeed. The party was discovered, & fired upon, & a smart skirmish took place. We lost one man belonging to the Connecticut forces.

15th. Saturday. Last night 200 men were ordered to march quietly down to "George's Tavern," & throw up a breast work on the marsh.

16th. Sunday. General orders: To ascertain who, & how many in each company were expert in managing whale boats.

17th. Monday. Col. Larned & a number of his officers and soldiers took a walk to Dorchester point this morning for pleasure, & were fired at.

18th. Tuesday. About eleven o'clock the party at George's were fired upon. We sent a few balls into Boston, & the guards fired at each other.

19th. Wednesday. Nothing remarkable.

July 20th, 1775. Thursday. This day was set apart by our Rulers as a Day of Fasting throughout the twelve Tribes of America. Another flag of truce came from Regulars in Boston, with some letters about the poor. The Captain of our guard told him to inform Gage that all our Generals were well; and also that Hancock & Adams were well, and likely to live, & that we are all ready for him to come out.

21st. Friday. A man of Col. Reed's Regt was accidentally shot.

22d. Saturday. Nothing remarkable.

23d. Sunday. Nothing.

24th. Monday. Nothing.

25th. Genl Washington, Genl Lee, & Genl Ward came from Cambridge to take a view of things in Roxbury.

26th. Wednesday. Genl Ward marched his Regt into Roxbury this day.

27th. Thursday. A deserter from Cambridge reports that the regulars are to attack Putnam's Fort.

28th. Friday. A deserter came in today, and says the regulars have but 900 men fit for duty, in Boston.

29th. Saturday. Nothing remarkable to-day.

30th. Sunday. Had an alarm, & the Adjutant General ordered the troops to the alarm post.

31st. Monday. Night before last a party of our men on Cambridge side went on to Charlestown neck, attacked the regular guard, & killed four men, & captured two. Last night about midnight, our troops at Cambridge began firing at the enemy. They fired also from Brooklyn Fort, & here in Roxbury, into Boston. The regulars had it from all sides. Our guard near "George's Tavern" were drove in. The enemy fired from their ships & other places. "George's Tavern" & barn were burnt. The Cannon roared like thunder in all directions. Bomb shells were flung into Roxbury, but generally went over us. One man of our company was wounded.

August 1st. Tuesday. Yesterday we had a fight with the regulars down at the light house. We killed a considerable number of them, made prisoners of 35 regulars & 7 tories, burnt two schooners, one house & one barn; sunk one barge and took a great deal of plunder. We had one killed & one wounded. The regulars kept up a cannon-ading all day.

2nd. Wednesday. One of Genl Washington's riflemen was killed by the regulars to day & then hung! up by the neck! His comrades seeing this were much enraged, & immediately asked leave of the Genl to go down and attack them. He gave them permission to go and do as they pleased. The Riflemen marched immediately & began operations. The regulars fired at them from all parts with cannon and swivels, but the Riflemen skulked about, and kept up their sharp shooting all day. Many of the regulars fell, but the riflemen lost only one man.

A flag of truce came from Boston for a cessation of hostilities six days, but our Genl would not agree to it, & sent it immediately back. About 1 o. c. the enemy fired from their floating batteries which was returned from the Brookline Fort. We fired the 24 pounder in the Great Fort above the meeting house, three times. One ball went into Boston, & two struck their breast work.

3d. Thursday. Our men at Cambridge keep picking off the regular's sentries daily, & they continue to fire with their cannon at us.

4th. Friday. About the same as yesterday.

5th. Saturday. The Captain who was at the burning of "George's Tavern" was broke for improper conduct.

6th. Sunday. This morning the regulars fired at our sentries, & our men gave them back the same.

7th. Monday. Major Tupper went into Boston, as far as the enemy's sentries with a flag of truce.

8th. Tuesday. The regulars took a floating Battery up to the north side of Charlestown and set two houses on fire. Soon our men brought out a field battery, and compelled them to withdraw.

9th. Wednesday. Nothing remarkable going on to day. A good deel of sickness in the camps with the camp distemper.

10th. Thursday. A flag of truce came from Boston, with letters

concerning the prisoners on both sides. In the afternoon another came concerning the liberty people in Boston.

11th. Friday. A family came to Roxbury by way of Charlestown, & report that the British are plundering Boston, & loading their vessels with the plunder.

12th. Sat. About 1 o'clock P. M. a Regiment of Riflemen arrived in Roxbury. Our men we have heard, took a tory and several regulars & brought them into Cambridge. They were going eastward for stores. The firing we saw over at Charlestown neck last night was the riflemen attacking the regulars. The enemy lost several killed, & four made prisoners.

13th. Sun. Nothing.

14th. Mon. Last night we began to entrench down by Roxbury burying yard on each side of the street; — one in the orchard at the right hand, and one at the left hand, down towards "George's Tavern."

August 15th, 1775. Tuesday. About 2 o'clock the enemy opened a cannonade from the Fortification and floating battery; but our men kept entrenching. We flung a few shots from the Fort, and with a field piece. They still keep pitching bomb-shells. One of our men was wounded.

16th. Wedn. The enemy keep up a firing upon our fatigue parties in the entrenchments, but they mind it not.

17th. Thurs. Three or four deserters came in from the ships of war. Also, a light horseman from Boston by swimming his horse — reports sickness among the regulars.

18th. Frid. The regulars continue to fling balls and bombs at our fatigue parties. The riflemen picked off a few of the regulars to day.

19th. Sat. Nothing remarkable. A deserter came in last night by swimming from Boston Common to Roxbury.

August 20th, 1775. Sunday. The deserters who came in last night report, that Gage's wife is about to sail for England.

A Guard was posted down at Lamb's Dam.

21st. Mon. A flag came out as far as our lower sentries.

22d. Tuesday. Cannonading by the regulars. A deserter came in.

23rd. Wed. Last night a party of our men took two boats, and rowed from the tide mill down the Bay to within gun shot distance of the regulars camp on Boston Common; & then formed broad side on, and fired into their tents. It was a dark night & the party returned without loss.

24th. Thurs. One of our riflemen deserted last night. Fifteen ships sailed out of Boston harbor this day.

300 men were ordered to entrench at the lower end of Roxbury street last night, & 300 men were stationed at Lamb's Dam to protect them.

25th. Frid. Nothing but a bomb shell from Boston which fell in Roxbury.

26th. Sat. A brisk firing of small arms over at Charlestown neck.

August 27th, 1775. Sun. The firing at Charlestown neck yesterday by our men & the regular's guard.

28th. Monday. We see heavy firing from Bunker's Hill at our men on Prospect Hill.

The enemy drew up two floating batteries, from which they opened a fire upon them also. Our men returned the fire with good effect, by which one of the batteries was sunk. A brisk fire of small arms was kept up for some time.

29th. Tues: A Company of Riflemen arrived in Roxbury to day. Heavy firing on Bunker's Hill.

30th. Wed. Nothing.

31st. Thurs: The regulars came out this side of the Fortification last night.

Sept. 1st. Friday. A deserter came out last night. It was very dark and rainy, & the enemy gave us a shower of balls and bomb shells, some of which fell in Roxbury Street. We lost three men.

2nd. Sat. This morning we spied the enemy entrenching at Brown's Chimnies, & we fired at them from the lower fort, and with a field piece. Elias Sibley, of Sutton, died this morning at 4 o'clock of the camp distemper. He had come to stay awhile in the place of Serjeant Jonathan Gould.

3rd. Sun: Nothing of note.

Sept. 4th, 1775. Mon: Guards & fatigues.

5th. Tues: Things seem to go very dull at present. We have heard that it is very sickly in the country, & sore judgments seem to be coming upon us on all sides.

6th. Wed: Our fatigue parties are at work on both sides, below George's Tavern & at Lamb's Dam.

7th. Thurs:—A Lieut. in Col. Cotting's Regt. was accidentally shot in the side.

8th. Frid: Our fatigue party building a Fort on the Hill above Lamb's Dam, were fired upon by the enemy. They flung 6 or 7 balls and 2 bomb shells.

9th. Sat: Nothing important.

10th. Sun: The enemy flung several shot amongst our fatigue parties.

11th. Mon: Nothing.

12th. Tues: All quiet.

13th. Wed: Heard firing from the ships in the harbor.

14th. Thurs. A deserter came out from Boston.

15th. Fri. A deserter came from Boston last.

16th. Sat. Guards & fatigues as usual.

17th. Sun. This morning about 8 o'clock the regulars fired at our Main Guard 3 or 4 balls, and we gave them back 8 or 9 with our 12 & 18 pounders.

Sept. 18th, 1775. Mon: About 9 o'clock this morning the enemy began firing into Roxbury Street, and continued it at intervals during the day. We returned the fire.

19th. Tues. About 9 o'clock this morning the enemy opened another heavy fire into Roxbury. We returned one or two shots.

20th. Wed: Heavy firing from the ships at our men on Prospect Hill.

21st. Thurs: We fired from the lower fort with our 18 pounder, which was returned by the Regulars with balls and shells. The Guards on both sides fired at each other.

22d. Frid: Last night 15 men deserted from the ships in boats. A number of boats have been brought into Roxbury by the deserters. This is the "King's Coronation Day," and at 12 o'clock the regulars fired on Boston Common and Bunker's Hill; and at 1 o'clock P. M. the Admiral's ship fired a salute. They fired also from all the other ships, and at the Castle.

23rd. Sat: At 8 o'clock this morning the enemy opened a heavy fire from the fortification, & flung over a 100 balls into Roxbury. We returned a few shots from our lower fort. They fired from the Castle.

24th. Sun. Guards and fatigues.

Sept. 25th, 1775. Mon. This morning we fired from our lower fort, & sent some 12 and 18 lbs. shots into Boston, but they did not return the fire.

26th. Tues: Nothing remarkable to-day.

27th. Wed: A scouting party came in from Governor's Island, with 11 cows & 2 horses.

28th Sept. Thurs. Nothing to note.

29th. Friday. Nothing.

30th. Sat. At 9 o'clock A. M. we fired two 18 lbs balls into Boston, and the regulars gave us back upwards of twenty.

Oct. 1st. Sunday. Guards & fatigues.

2nd. Mon: Just at night the enemy threw 7 or 8 balls into Roxbury. We returned the fire from the lower fort.

3rd. Tues. 4th. Wed. Nothing these days of importance.

5th. Thurs. A sale at Major Smith's of the plunder taken at the *light house*, the proceeds to go to Major Tupper & his party, who captured it.

6th. Frid. About 9 o'clock A. M. we flung two 18 lb balls into Boston from the *lower fort*, just to let them know where to find us, for which the enemy returned 90 shots. We had one man wounded.

7th. Sat. Guards & fatigues.

Oct. 8th, 1775. Sunday. A deserter came in last night, and reports that both shots of ours, fired into Boston on the 6th took effect, killing one man and wounding another.

9th. Mon. Nothing remarkable.

10th. Tues: Same.

11th. Wedn: Building barracks.

12th. Thurs: Regimental Orders: From this time forward every soldier not on duty, shall turn out on the parade at 2 o'clock P. M., & exercise to the best advantage, & for the good of these Colonies.

13th. Frid. A flag of truce came out from Boston with letters to our Generals.

Some firing from the ships in the harbor.

14th. Saturday. Firing on Bunker's Hill.

15th. Sunday. The fatigue men were set to work entrenching,

which is not practised in our Regt on Sundays. Mr. Pope, of Spencer, preached to our Regt. Gen. Thomas attended the Worship.

16th. Mon. 17th. Tues. General orders : — That Coal be furnished for the redoubts, & the sentries be relieved at midnight, & hourly during the remainder of the night — per order. Building barracks, & watch boxes, & burning bricks: the masons are also called for, to prepare for winter quarters.

Oct. 18th, 1775. Wedn. A party of our men at Cambridge went on board of two floating batteries, and sailed down the Bay by Brookline Fort, to near Boston Common, and opened a smart fire into the town. Unfortunately one of the cannon burst, by which eleven men were wounded — one mortally. They also lost two swivels, and two chests powder.

19th. Thurs. All quiet.

20th. Frid. The regular's guards fired a few times at our men in the redoubts.

21st. Sat. A deserter came in last night, & reported that it is sickly in Boston.

22nd. Sun. Guards & fatigues.

23rd. Mon: Col. David Brewer was tried by a Court Martial, for giving his son, 16 years of age, a commission, and drawing the pay for him for the month of August, while the inexperienced lad was at home in his own service. Also, for sending two soldiers belonging to his Regiment to work on his farm! The Court ordered the said David Brewer to be dismissed the service. *Amen to that.*

24th. Tues. General Orders. The Officers will give notice at Head Quarters of their intentions to serve another year. Per order.

Oct. 25th, 1775. Wedn. Heavy firing on Boston Common, by the ships in the harbor, and the Castle, in honor of the king.

26th. 27th. 28th. 29th. Generally quiet.

30th. Mon. Some heavy firing from the ships this day.

31st. Tues. Guards & fatigues.

Nov. 1st. Wedn. Guards as usual.

2d. Thurs. Heavy firing from the ships.

3rd. Frid. Some may think that I put down things which do not happen. But I put nothing down but such as I am certain of. And you may depend upon it, that all I say here is the truth.

SAMUEL BIXBY.

4th. Sat. Guards & fatigues.

5th. Sun. The firing last Sunday we have heard was, "mourning for the King."

6th. 7th. 8th. All quiet.

9th. Thurs. Sharp firing over at Charlestown Neck by a party of regulars from the ships, & our men. We had one killed, & one wounded.

10th. Friday. All's well.

11th. Saturday. Last night the tide overflowed Dorchester Neck. The picquet guard was ordered in; otherwise the regulars would have cut them off.

Nov: 12th, 1775. Sunday. All sorts of rumors brought by the deserters.

13th. Mon: Last night the regulars advanced up toward our Redoubt. The Guard opened a brisk fire at them and drove them back.

14th. Tues: Recruiting men to serve one year.

15th. Wed. 16th, 17th. Nothing remarkable.

18th. Sat. General Orders:—The fatigue parties will begin work at 9 o'clock A.M., & continue until 3 o'clock P.M.

19th. Sunday. The floating battery near Boston Neck, moved off this day.

20th. Mon: General Orders:—The Main Guard will be commanded by a Field Officer, & consist of 3 Captns. 9 Subalterns, 18 Serjeants, 18 Corporals & 360 privates. The piquet guard 1 Subaltern, 2 Sergts & 2 Corporals from each Regt.

21st. Tues: General Orders:—No man will be permitted to carry away his gun, when the term of his service is ended; as it will be appraised & the value thereof paid in money.—Per order.—

22nd. Wedn: Regimental Orders:—The Regt will not parade at the alarm post as heretofore, but will attend prayers at the usual times, that is, at a little before sunrise.—

Nov. 23rd, 1775. Thursday. This is a day of Public Thanksgiving throughout the Province. We had the Rev. Mr. Bowman of Oxford to preach to us at the Col's as usual. Text 101 Psalm, 1 verse.

24th. Friday. Orders came last night from Gen. Washington to Gen. Thomas, & from him to Col. Larned, for every man to lie by his arms, & with his clothes on, as an attack was expected from the enemy, who had given out word that they would take supper with us in Roxbury on Thanksgiving night.

25th. Sat. General Orders:—The main guard will in future parade in the street from Howe's Bake-house to the Guardhouse.

Regimental Orders.

That the drums & fifes beat down the street, from the Col's quarters as far as his right, every morning at sunrise, & at one hour before sunset to call the troops to Prayers.

26th. Sun. A flag of truce was sent into Boston by Col. Parsons, & one was returned by the enemy.

27th. Mon. I read in the "News Print" that Gen. Howe sent out from Boston by way of Chelsea, 300 of the town's poor; men, women and children.

28th. Tues. Guards & fatigues.—

Nov. 29th, 1775. Wedn. Genl Ward's Orders to the Capt. of the Main Guard to allow no persons to send letters into Boston, or to go beyond our sentries, without a written permit from the Genl in Command. He is to be very vigilant, & see that there is no waste of the private property in Roxbury.

30th. Thurs. Nothing important.

Decr. 1st. Friday. Guards & fatigues as usual.

2nd. Sat: I went with Col. Larned & several other officers & soldiers, about 50 in all, to Dorchester Point, for a pleasure walk. While there, we were fired at from the Castle, 6 or 7 times.

3rd. Sun: Moses Foster, of Sturbridge, belonging to Capt. Martin's Company, was buried in Roxbury.

4th. Mon: Orders from Genl Washington: That no person be sent into Boston with a flag of truce, who has not had the small pox: & that all letters from Boston to be dipped in vinegar before perusing them.

5th. Tues: Nothing. —

6th. Wedn. General Orders:

The main guard shall parade from Howe's Bakehouse to Doct. Davis' great house.

Dec. 7th, 1775. Thurs: Capt. Ingersoll was tried by a Court Martial for spreading false reports about the Country, tending to defame the General. He was fined £8, and dismissed the service. —

8th. Friday. The same Court fined one man £8. 7s., and sentenced him to two years imprisonment in the New Gate Prison in Simsbury, for stealing & deserting; and another man, John Smith, for similar offences, was fined £8, and sentenced to six months at Newgate.

9th. Saturday. Nothing.

10th. Sunday. All is quiet.

11th. Mon: Several Companies of militia marched into Roxbury to day.

12th. Tues. Several Companies of militia arrived in Roxbury to-day, & joined Col. Larned Regt

13th. Wed. Nothing of note.

14th. Thurs. Regimental Orders.

The Regiment will parade tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock at the Col.'s quarters, & march to the alarm post to instruct the militia.

15th. Friday. Attended prayers as usual, and it being a wet day, we stood with our hats on.

16th. Sat. Regimental parade as usual.

17th. Sun. The Regulars fired from the ship near Bunker's Hill, at our men on Cobble Hill. In the evening they fired from Beacon Hill, and from the Ship. Our men returned the fire. —

Dec. 18th, 1775. Mon. That ship near Bunker's Hill dropped down into the harbor to day.

19th. Tues. The Regulars kept up a heavy fire from Beacon hill, of balls and shells, at intervals during the day and night, at our men on "Lechmere's Point."

20th. Wedn. The firing is continued on Beacon hill.

21st. Thurs. Lieut. Col M^cNott was tried by a Court Martial for treating Lieut Goodell in an unbecoming manner. Fined £2.

Col. Cotton, Pres^t

22d. Frid. All quiet.

23d. Sat. Several men discharged from Col. Larned's Regt Wednesday.

24th. Sun. Paraded as usual.

25th. Mon. No Chaplain in Col. Larned's Reg^t at present.

26th. Tues. Troubles as usual, but nothing remarkable.

27th. Wed. In future the sentries of the Main Guard will be relieved hourly, & oftener, if the Officers see fit.

28th. Thurs. General Orders.

The new recruits will join their respective Reg^{ts} at Roxbury & Cambridge on the 1st day of January next. —

Dec. 29th, 1775. Friday. We of Col. Larned's Reg^t received one month's pay. Last night there was firing of small arms near Bunker's hill. It is said, our men undertook to storm the fort on the hill, by crossing over on the ice; but the ice was not strong enough. We had two men drowned.

30th. Saturday. General Orders.

The old Regiments of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, & Rhode Island will parade tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock to receive the instructions of the Commander in Chief, concerning their arms; & to see what they intend to do with them; for such noncommissioned Officers & privates as shall presume to carry home their arms, contrary to an express General Order, and the pressing necessities of the country, will be *mulet* in the sum of their pay and rations.

31st. Sunday. Paraded according to the above order, but had no further instructions.

January 1st, 1776. Monday. Paraded, and had our guns inspected, and returned our ammunition. Col. Larned desired us not to leave until properly discharged by the General, whose orders he expected to have within an hour, but the largest part of the companies left. Some of us remained in camp till morning.

Jan. 2nd, 1776. Tuesday. This morning the drums beat for prayers, and we attended. After which, the Col. dismissed us with honor, and gave us many thanks for our good conduct; and then we took up our journey for home, and lodged at Framingham.

3rd. Wed. Resumed our march, and arrived at Sutton about 9 o'clock in the evening.

SAMUEL BIXBY.

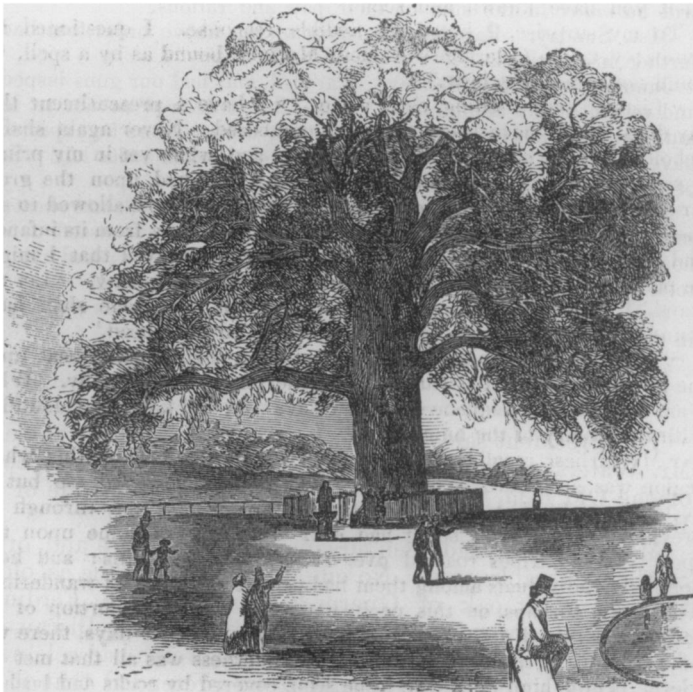
SUTTON, MASS.

The President said that he would now call on our associate Mr. Waterston, who had promised to give us some account of the Old Elm, which, after being so long the pride of our Boston Common, had recently fallen in a gale.

Many theories had been advanced as to the age and origin of this venerable tree. No one imagined it to be as old as that "ancient oak of Guernica," under which Ferdinand and Isabella swore to maintain the liberties of Biscay, just four hundred years ago, and which Wordsworth had celebrated in a noble sonnet. Nor would it be pretended that it was coeval with the "Yardley Oak," on which Cowper had written some of his most charming lines.

Oaks were, in their own nature, more enduring than elms ; and we should be quite content to be assured that our Boston Elm had witnessed the first settlement of our Colony two centuries and a half ago. But he would not anticipate what Mr. Waterston might tell us as the result of historical research, or of his privileged poetical fancy.

In responding to the call of the President to lay before the Society some account of the Great Elm, which he had been requested to prepare, Mr. Waterston felt that it would be allowable, at this social meeting, to deviate somewhat from the beaten paths, and by the aid of a little imagination, or even invention, to introduce this venerable relic as the “ oldest inhabitant ” of our peninsula, endowed with intelligence and the power of communicating thought, and quite disposed to claim the privilege which old age gives, — to be garrulous, and to be a willing medium of imparting some facts about our venerated and beloved city.



Mr. WATERSTON then read such portions of the following Paper as the time permitted :—

In this centennial year 1876, towards evening, February 15th, I was crossing the Common. A powerful wind came in heavy gusts. Now it would sweep the heavens like a tornado ; then would follow a lull as of perfect peace. Mysterious influences gathered around. As I approached the Great Elm, the words of Fitz-Greene Halleck came to my mind :—

“ What tales (if there were tongues in trees)
This Giant Elm could tell, —
Of beings born and buried here ;
Tales of the peasant and the peer,
Tales of the bridal and the bier,
The welcome and farewell ! ”

“ Is it not strange,” I said, “ that this spot should be so connected with Alnwick Castle, that magnificent impersonation of feudal power ? Yet Lord Percy — afterwards Duke of Northumberland — came from those baronial halls to marshal, just here, his men ; leading them out of this green field to Concord and Lexington.

“ Ah, venerable tree,” I exclaimed, “ would that you could tell us what you have known and seen ! ”

To my surprise, I heard an audible response. I questioned my senses ; yet, like Coleridge’s *Ancient Mariner*, bound as by a spell, “ I could not choose but hear.”

“ Listen,” said a strong, clear voice. “ I have a presentiment that my days, which have been many, are numbered. Never again shall I behold the rising sun. One hundred years ago, while yet in my prime, I saw that a nation was being born. As I looked upon the great struggle for freedom, I earnestly desired that I might be allowed to see the conflict through ; and as I had watched the Colony from its infancy, and beheld it gradually maturing into strength, I prayed that I might be permitted to watch yet longer over its unfolding destiny. ‘ Let me stand,’ I said, ‘ one century more ; and, when that cycle shall have rounded to its completeness, I will willingly bow my head.’

“ This wish was granted. The storms of a century have beat upon me in vain while I have watched the generations of men go by. What I am is of little consequence ; what I have seen and known is identified with the history of the human race.

“ My earliest recollection goes back to a period when this whole region was an unbroken solitude. Those days seem to me but as yesterday. At that time, no indication was visible that through all previous ages a human being had ever established a home upon this spot. Indian tribes roamed over the surrounding hills ; and here, doubtless, individuals among them had paused in their wild wanderings. They may, perhaps, on this peninsula, have burned a portion of the forest, and sowed a little corn. Still, in my younger days, there was no indication of this. An uninhabited wilderness was all that met the view. Three high hills were to be seen, covered by rocks and bushes ; while the slender thread of land which united the peninsula with the

shore was so narrow and low, that the sea, at full tide, dashed over it. Salt water was all around ; and the wide, open bay, sprinkled with islands, was without a single sail. At long intervals an Indian canoe glided by, or fearlessly shot out over the deeper waters.

"Somewhere about 1626 came the first white man : not a companion with him, young or old. Such loneliness is almost beyond the power of thought. This solitary man built a hut, and planted an orchard. He had studied at some English university (I think he said Cambridge), so that at times he talked to himself in the Latin tongue. Thus far, on this side the great water, there had been nothing to interfere with his individuality.

"Now came a day memorable for ever in the history of the New World,—the arrival of Governor Winthrop with the charter of the Colony. On the 12th of June, 1630, after a trying voyage, a company arrived from beyond the ocean (I am told there were eleven ships and some seven hundred persons), who landed first at Salem, where sickness and death created sad depression ; so much so, that Winthrop, in less than a week, commenced explorations for another place of settlement.

"I soon saw them on the opposite side of the river (a place which the Indians called 'Mishawam'), where they erected booths and tents, some by the river, and others on what was called the Town Hill. But they were sorely tried and troubled by sickness and privation ; and their bitter distress was fearfully aggravated by the lack of good water. With parched lips, and a most terrible thirst, they were ready to perish. Then it was that I saw Mr. Blackstone leave his cottage, go down to the river-side, and turn his boat to the opposite shore. Soon across, he at once sought Winthrop, informing him of the abundance of excellent springs on this side, and extending a generous invitation to what he called, by its Indian name, 'Shawmut.'

"The invitation was accepted. There was, indeed, an abundant supply of clear spring-water ; yet at times there prevailed great scarcity of food, with only shell-fish for meat, and ground nuts or acorns for bread. I recall one day when Chickatabut came with his squaws, laden with Indian corn. The governor gave to each a cup of beer, and invited them to pass the night.

"By a mutual arrangement between this company and Mr. Blackstone, fifty acres of ground were set apart to be his for ever. The ground upon which I stand was included in this arrangement, so that I was made over to him. The year following (1634), Mr. Blackstone, for reasons satisfactory to himself, sold to the town all his allotment, except six acres, on part of which his house stood. The chairman of the committee appointed by the town to raise the money and complete the arrangements was Edmund Quincy, who came over from England the year before (1633) with the Rev. John Cotton, and who was representative of the town in the first General Court held in Massachusetts Bay. Some persons might wonder that such facts should interest me ; but, in reality, few facts could interest me more. This transaction was of most vital importance. By it Mr. Blackstone gave up all his rights, whatever they might be, to the whole peninsula ; and

out of the land, so purchased, the town laid out a place for 'a training-field,' or 'common,' — so called because it was to be for ever held in common, and used for the pleasure and advantage of all.

"I stood in about the centre of that field; and there I have proudly maintained my standing ever since. Not Governor Winthrop himself could have been more gratified with his position than I have been with mine !

"At one portentous moment, I trembled for my safety and that of the whole 'training-field,' or 'common,' upon which I stood. On the 11th of December, 1634, — after what they called the great Thursday Lecture, — a meeting of the inhabitants was held (without adequate notice or general understanding) — who chose seven men to divide among themselves the town-lands lately purchased from Mr. Blackstone. This unexpected movement, privately arranged, was carried forward with exceeding quietness, and completed by a secret vote. This action, so sudden and curious, created, as soon as it was known, great excitement. By this vote, several of the chief men were left out; and Governor Winthrop himself was chosen by a majority of only one or two. Under the circumstances, he at once refused to accept office; and Mr. Cotton, greatly offended at the whole proceeding, appealed to the people. At length the indignation was so strong, that it was agreed 'to go to a new election, which was referred to the next Lecture-day.'

"This occurred only four years after the settlement of Boston. Human nature would seem to have been much the same then as it is now. I have heard it remarked, that, since that date, those who meet for electioneering-purposes need at times a little looking after; and that it is a pretty well-established fact, that individuals have different standards by which they measure both their private duty and the public good.

"No notice, I am told, is made in the town-records of the election of which I have spoken, because it was considered as no election, and therefore the whole action was null and void. But we have the facts as recorded by Governor Winthrop; and upon the 30th of March, 1640, this decisive vote was placed upon the public record: 'Henceforth there shall be no land granted, eyther for house lott or garden, to any person out of y^e open ground or Common Field w^h is left between y^e Centry Hill and Mr. Colbrom's end.' That act saved me and the whole Common. This 'open ground' was emphatically declared to be the property of the people, and thus to remain through all future time inviolate. From that 30th of March, 1640, we know, that, as a public trust, it has been sacredly kept and guarded. There were those who feared that the richer men would not have sufficient consideration for the less favored; and they therefore proposed that this public ground should be divided into house-lots for the poor. This superficial reasoning appeared plausible, no doubt, to those who met so quietly after the Thursday Lecture on that 18th December, 1634. But Governor Winthrop — not for the special benefit of any one class, but for the mutual advantage of all — advocated that this 'open ground'

should be held in common. With a far-sighted wisdom, this he had 'often persuaded them unto as best for the town.' Honored for ever be his memory that he did so persuade them !

"I stand here to-day the only surviving witness of that transaction ; but, long after I shall have passed away, may the people adhere to the conviction that the 'Common — kept thus, unharmed and undiminished, — will ever continue to be 'best for the town.'"

"It was an event not to be forgotten when Mr. Wilson was ordained as the first religious teacher. The earliest place of worship had a thatched roof and mud walls. Before that rude structure was erected, Mr. Wilson addressed the people under the trees. I have heard him preach a good sermon under what protecting shade I could give. One day, when Governor Vane and Mr. Winthrop had some little controversy, Mr. Wilson in his zeal climbed upon the bough of a tree (it being warm weather, the election was in the field), and from thence he made his speech.

"The 2d of November, 1631, was a joyful day ; for then the Rev. John Eliot, with sixty more, arrived. A salute was given of six guns and divers volleys of shot ; while the people flocked around, bringing venison, poultry, geese, partridges, as presents. The 'Apostle to the Indians' they afterwards loved to call him ; and an 'apostle' he truly was.

"On the 4th of September, 1633, the 'Griffin,' a noble vessel of three hundred tons, arrived with the Rev. John Cotton, Edmund Quincy, and two hundred more, numbering some of the ablest minds ever welcomed to the Colonies, and forming an important era in the history of the town.

"Within two years followed Henry Vane, — afterwards Sir Henry, — beyond all question one of the most remarkable men of his time ; of rare gifts, exalted virtue, and distinguished accomplishments ; who returned to his native land to become the friend of Milton, and eventually to receive the crown of martyrdom.

"It may be said there prevailed a puritanic type of character. Yet there was also the most singular variety. I cannot forget Ann Hutchinson, that woman of masculine energy and inextinguishable zeal. She possessed the power to hold, by her influence, both John Cotton and Sir Henry Vane. The most subtle abstractions had for her a charm. She set up a double weekly lecture of her own, in which she would gravely propound and answer questions, uttering condemnations and judgments ; while, to the right hand and the left, her bitter sarcasms and keen personalities would cut like a razor dipped in oil.

"In what singular contrast stood that lovely lady, Arbella Johnson ! Yet both have woven their names into the very texture of our early history. 'Many,' said Cotton Mather, 'merely took New England in their way to Heaven.' Arbella Johnson, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, was of that number. Her husband, in sorrow, soon followed her.

'He, for a little, tried
To live without her ; — liked it not, and died.'

"I have often wondered what might have been the result if John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell had come to this country. They were actually on board the vessel, I am told, which was to bring them; when, by order of the Council, the ship was prevented from sailing. What would have been the after-history of England *without* her Hampden and her Cromwell? and what would have been *our* history *with* them?

"But the men I *have* seen, who labored for the Colony, have been too many to name. Sir Richard Saltonstall, Governor Bradford, John Endicott, Elder Brewster, Captain Miles Standish, John Hancock, James Otis, John and Samuel Adams,—these and a host of others rise before me who have made their names illustrious by their marvellous self-sacrifice and patriotic devotion. I have heard it said that God sifted three kingdoms to obtain the seed for this enterprise; and that, when he had secured the choicest of the wheat, he sifted it all over again, that he might have nothing but the best.

"Among the early acts of the emigrants, only six years after the landing of Governor Winthrop with the charter, and within three years of the arrival of John Cotton and Edmund Quincy, was the founding of a college, modestly designated at first as a 'school.' The General Court, even in those times of weakness and want, agreed to give for the advancement of this object four hundred pounds,—'a sum equal to one year's rate of the whole colony.' In the autumn of 1637 an interesting and most scholarly-looking man arrived from England, who was addressed as the Rev. John Harvard, late Master of Arts, from Emanuel College, Cambridge. The hectic flush upon his cheek indicated that he was not destined to a long life. This godly gentleman preached, while his strength lasted, to the people in Charlestown; but about a twelvemonth after his arrival, greatly lamented, he died, bequeathing to this infant seminary of learning nearly eight hundred pounds, together with his whole library. From a deed so noble, this institution justly became crowned with the name of 'HARVARD.' Such was the beginning of our great University. I heard the leading men of that time—Shepard and Cotton, and Stoughton, Dudley, and Winthrop—talking of these interests, and rejoicing that it had pleased God to stir up their hearts to commence this work, and that he had so wonderfully encouraged them to carry it on. Among the benefactions were many so scanty and simple, that they might awaken a smile if they did not touch too closely chords of tenderest feeling,—'half-bushels of wheat,' 'cloth valued at nine shillings,' 'a pewter flagon,' and 'a silver-tipt jug,' 'one great salt,' 'one fruit-dish,' and a 'sugar-spoon.' These contributions, gratefully received, were faithfully recorded, and will be remembered, with the widow's gift in the temple, while the world itself shall endure.

"It is curious to recall the individualities of form and character I have observed while standing here.

"I remember seeing the Rev. Increase Mather walk by, with a look of evident satisfaction, the morning after he had received the first degree of D.D. ever conferred in America.

"And Cotton Mather, while preparing his famous '*Magnalia Christi Americana*,' would pace hither and thither along these surrounding paths, — not so largely frequented then as now, — repeating to himself learned quotations.

"And Doctor Mather Byles, that persistent old Tory, who, always ready for a joke, notwithstanding his clerical wig and band, seldom opened his lips without a pun. When he passed by, he would wonder how many *boughs* I had made, or how many *rings* I had, or if there was any reason to be afraid of my *bark*! He seriously inquired whether it would be best for him to study me as a book while *Autumn was turning the leaves*. Once, seeing men loosening the soil around me, he hoped they were going to the *root of the matter*; and he actually asked me one day if I thought of taking a journey, as he saw I had my *trunk* with me.

"I remember seeing one at an early day whom the people addressed as 'Brother Philemon Permont,' who was the first schoolmaster 'for the nurturing of children.'

"Among the young people there was often something noticeable. I recall a lad, whom the boys hailed as 'Ben Franklin,' flying his kite here on the Common, and piling stones along the edge of the pond. He was a clever boy. I heard of him afterwards as playing with lightning, and standing before kings."

"Curious names had been given to places now well-nigh forgotten; as 'Frog and Cow Lane,' 'Bull's Corner,' 'Hog Alley,' 'Long Acre,' 'Paddock's Walk,' 'Elbow Alley,' 'Bite Tavern,' 'Blue Ball,' 'Green Dragon,' 'Battery March,' 'Dog and Rainbow,' 'Crown and Sceptre,' 'Hat and Helmet,' 'Indian Queen.'"

"When these names were as household words, there was a Windmill and a Powder-Magazine and a Watch-House near by me, and there were both singular *costumes* and *customs*. Red cloaks and cocked hats and perriwigs were everywhere seen, and doublets and embroidered waistcoats, and satin or velvet coats, and broad collars folded about the neck, or stiff ruffs, with tight breeches buttoned at the knee, and silk stockings, and buckled shoes; while ladies were adorned with rich brocades, and damask petticoats, and widely projecting hoops, and high heels, and powdered hair, lifted up at times by artificial contrivances to a fantastical and sometimes even a ludicrous elevation, — if, indeed, it is ever allowable to consider any thing fantastic or ludicrous which is pronounced to be in fashion!"

"I have seen, in my day, strange punishments, reflecting in deep shadows the sterner features of the times. The pillory was once here, and bilboes, and the whipping-post; or the lash was applied, for variety, at the end of a cart, accompanied with a drum. Men and women were locked up in cages, or plunged into the river; or a basket was hung about the neck, loaded with stones; ears were cropped, or a cleft stick was fastened upon the tongue, or a scarlet letter was woven

upon the dress, indicating the wrong committed. Persons at times were branded with hot irons, and subjected to banishment: while, to expiate certain errors or crimes, the offender was obliged to stand in the broad aisle of the meeting-house during the public services; perhaps lifted upon a stool, and with an inscription upon the head. Even Chief Justice Sewall stood in penance before the whole congregation on a Lecture Day, thus acknowledging his error in regard to witchcraft.

"In 1640 I could not but smile at the singular turn of fate, — when one Edward Palmer, having been ordered by the authorities to make a pair of wooden stocks for the town, asking, upon their completion, what the authorities were pleased to consider an extravagant price, they instantly compelled him to sit for an hour in the very instrument of torture he had made for others!"

"Standing here during the period of witchcraft and the persecution of the Quakers, I was obliged to witness scenes which made me shudder; but I had no part in those things, and I care not to recall them now."

"Curious laws have been enacted in my day, suggestive of the times.

"Captain Keayne, who kept a shop (1639), having received sixpence in the shilling profit, was convicted and fined. It is recorded that 'he acknowledged his fault with tears, bewailing his covetous and corrupt heart.'

"In 1631, one Nicholas Knopp was fined £5 for selling a quack-medicine, and publicly whipped!

"It was decreed by the General Court, that, unless a man was worth £200, he should not wear gold or silver lace, or buttons or points at the knees. Neither should women wear silk hoods or scarfs.

"In 1632, each man was to pay a penny sterling for every time of taking tobacco in any place.

"In 1640, if any person take tobacco whilst impanelled upon a 'jurie,' he shall forfeit five shillings for every default.

"Any person found smoking tobacco on the Lord's day, within two miles of the meeting-house, shall pay twelvepence; while for boys and servants that shall offend herein, and have nothing to pay, to be set in the stocks for the first default, and for the second to be whipped.

"Whosoever, at any public meeting, shall fall into any private conference to the hindering of public business, shall forfeit for every such offence twelvepence, to be paid into the constable's hand for public uses.

"In 1631 a night-watch of six persons was established; and an order was given to the town-watch every night to walk two by two together, — a youth always to be joined to an older and more sober person.

"If the watchmen find any young men and maidens, not of known fidelity, walking after ten o'clock, they are modestly to demand the

cause. If in any house a light was seen after ten o'clock, the watchmen must inquire if there was any warrantable reason. If there was dancing or singing vainly, those so employed must be admonished to cease.

"In September, 1631, Mr. Josias Plaistowe, for stealing, was condemned to forfeit 'the title of a gentleman,' and henceforth was 'not to be called Mr., but simply Josias.'

"Instead of brass farthings, musket-bullets were ordered to be used.

"In 1662 officials were appointed to stir up, with long wands, the inattentive at church!

"At one period a man was stationed on the roof of each meeting-house, during service on the sabbath-day, to give alarm in case of fire.

"In 1652 no strangers were permitted to live within the town, unless they first gave bonds to save the town harmless.

"Through many years, the inhabitants were allowed to pasture their cows upon the Common. In 1646 it was voted, that, if any person desired to keep sheep, 'he might pasture four sheep in lieu of a cow.'"

"One of the most agreeable scenes I remember to have witnessed was in 1718, and for a few years following. About that time, measures were adopted to encourage the introduction of spinning in private families. Premiums were offered to the most skilful. A multitude were in the habit of assembling at certain seasons in the open air, upon the Common, with their spinning-wheels. Often have I looked with admiration at the blooming damsels seated in rows, while I heard the hum of the swiftly-revolving wheels."

"It was a scene of great excitement, and no little interest, when George Whitefield, in 1740, preached here to vast multitudes. Having spoken at the 'Old South' and the 'Old Brick,'—no building was found to be large enough,—and crying out, 'Go ye into the highways and hedges,' he led the eager throng up here; and at his farewell discourse, in October, more than twenty thousand people were present. It was said that his voice was so sympathetic and persuasive, that he could pronounce the word 'Mesopotamia' so that men would shed tears.

"The earliest aspect around me, as I have said, was the open country and the wide expanse of ocean. Many persons would doubtless be surprised to know how extensively the scene on every side extended. I could see distinctly Governor Winthrop's house—a wooden building of two stories—on his town-lot, known as the 'Green,' in what is now called Washington Street, opposite to School Street. Here he lived, and here he died; and afterwards the building was destroyed for fuel by British troops. I could plainly see the house occupied by Henry Vane, which was near what is now known as Tremont Street and Pemberton Square, with large gardens. It was a very old-fashioned-looking mansion, with small diamond panes of glass. When he left the country, he gave this house to his friend, the Rev. John Cotton, who occupied it many years.

"And not far distant from this residence of Sir Henry Vane, opposite the King's Chapel burial-ground, was the mansion of Peter Faneuil, with its deep court-yard and lofty terraces, upon the summer-house of which glittered the golden grasshopper, which was the crest of the Faneuil arms. The grasshopper still sparkles in the light at the top of Faneuil Hall, and persistently looks to the *East* when the chill wind blows from the ocean.

"By slow degrees the wide-open spaces were built up, and the more distant views excluded.

"The highest summit near by me was long known as 'Sentry Hill.' In 1635 'a Beacon' was placed there. The beacon-fire was sixty-five feet from the base, and two hundred feet above the sea-level. From that time the whole ground around has taken the name of 'Beacon.' What is now called 'Park Street' — on account of fronting the Park — was then known as 'Sentry Street,' because it led to the 'beacon;' near which, by an order of the town, there was always to be one person stationed as a watch or sentry, to kindle the beacon, and extend instant alarm in case of danger. Upon this street stood the 'Workhouse,' the 'Poorhouse,' and the 'Bridewell.' In those gloomy structures were the wretchedly destitute, the criminal, and the insane. Rogues and vagabonds were incarcerated where now wealth and culture find their most attractive centre. The public granary was also there, in which 12,000 bushels of grain could be kept to supply whatever pressing want might exist in seasons of scarcity.

"The site upon which the State House has stood, for more than eighty years, was part of the commanding estate of John Hancock. Gardens and orchards surrounded his dwelling, making it altogether one of the most characteristic and noble residences of the Colonial period. Through a generous hospitality, it was familiarly known to nearly all the distinguished men of that time. Below this (where the mansion of David Sears afterwards stood) was the home of John Singleton Copley, to whom the world is indebted for the best portraiture of the leading personages of that day.

"Fortunate are the great-grandchildren who have inherited one of those superb works, with its richest brocade and massive folds of lustrous silk, and the life-like expression with which a speaking countenance looks out from its antique frame. Only a short time since, with pleasure I listened to the words of one who repeated to herself, while resting under the shadow here, exquisite verses freshly suggested by one of Copley's portraits. I am not sure that they were not extemporized just then, — the truest inspirations sometimes come in this way. 'How fortunate am I,' she said, 'that this picture is to be mine!' Then, in a sweet voice, she murmured thoughts which seemed to spin themselves into a sparkling gossamer net-work; while I noticed, that, with some delicate touches, she referred to the characteristics of those who, as she smilingly said, combined in the most charming manner a love for sanctity and satin!

"As far as I can recall her words, they were these: —

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 'Scorning all worldliness, beauty, and grace,
 How those old Puritans loved Mechlin lace!
 Stately great-grandmother felt all its charms, —
 See its fine web shade her bosom and arms!
 Through her dark tresses gleam glittering pearls;
 In the dim background, a vision of curls;
 Pearls, too, encircle her slender white throat;
 Down to her shoe-buckles satin folds float.
 Ah! my fair ancestress, is it not plain
 You don't hold the world in relentless disdain?'

"In Copley's house, which stood yonder, was born, May, 1772, a son, to whom was given the father's name, and who afterwards became better known as Lord Lyndhurst, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Lord High Chancellor of England. I remember seeing the nurse come to him directly from the care of another, whose name has become identified with the progress of his country, — Josiah Quincy; two remarkable infants, destined to play an important part, in their mature years, upon opposite sides of the Atlantic. When over ninety years of age, Mr. Quincy used playfully to assert that the nurse must have given them something very good to make them live so long. Copley the artist left this country in 1774. Having visited Italy, on his return to England he at once sent for his family to join him in London. Mrs. Copley and her three children embarked on the 27th of May, 1775, in the last vessel that sailed from our shores under British colors before the battle of Bunker Hill. The young Copley, at that time, was only three years of age.

"That other child — Josiah Quincy — I saw taken, with his mother, out of the besieged city, in the last carriage permitted by General Gage to leave the town. They passed over the Neck; and, at the line separating Boston from Roxbury, British troops, with their scarlet coats sprinkled with gold, — perhaps we should say brass, — were stationed. This was the most powerful fortification the English army had made. Young as he was, he could never forget through life that hour. Lyndhurst, in 1796, returned. I saw him as he passed by to take a last look at his father's former residence. Josiah Quincy returned also, to devote his life to the public good, and to leave upon the city and the community he so truly loved the impress of his wonderful energy, integrity, and foresight."

"For more than a hundred and fifty years I had watched the progress of affairs. In the place of an absolute solitude, I had seen the gathering of an intelligent and thrifty community. Bold and energetic, with them independence of mind was united to an unquenchable love of freedom. Character had become more mellow, thought more broad, and an intensity of life was everywhere manifest. One trammel after another had been broken, until an indignant aversion was felt that any trammel should be left."

"As I had grown from a diminutive seed into a colossal tree, — my roots striking far down, and my branches wrestling with the storm, triumphant against every assault, — even so had I seen this people taking deep root, rising up in the majesty of an unconquerable purpose, inspired with the profound consciousness that it had some grand destiny to fulfil."

"The very thought of despotism galled them. Thus was the Stamp Act indignantly repelled. Then came the tax on tea. I listened to the discussions, witnessed the excitement, and at last heard the shout of the Mohawks as they rushed by the old South Church and mounted the vessels loaded with tea. Then followed the Boston Port Bill with its enormities. I saw the British men-of-war that brought General Gage to enforce absolute submission. The air was full of voices demanding justice and freedom. I heard the bells toll, and saw on every side emblems of mourning. Nearly two thousand British soldiers were encamped here on the Common. In April I saw Warren, as he noticed suspicious movements among the grenadiers, and sent Paul Revere to carry the warning word to Lexington. I saw the lanterns hung from the North Church, and could almost fancy that I heard the dip of the oar on the river, and afterwards that 'shot heard round the world'!

"From beneath my shade the British troops marched, on the 19th of April, to Concord and Lexington, not a few to come back exhausted and wounded, and many to be brought back dead. The men who had gone forth exultingly — veterans, hardy, thoroughly disciplined, who with ease were to sweep all before them — returned on the run, their tongues extending from their mouths, panic-stricken, chagrined, defeated. Seventy-three had been killed, and one hundred and twenty-six wounded. It cannot be wondered that Samuel Adams, with patriotic ardor and prophetic foresight, should have exclaimed, 'What a glorious morning!'

"At early dawn on the 17th of June, I heard the first shot from the men-of-war upon the intrenchments which had been thrown up during the night on Bunker Hill. Then the whole British camp and the entire population of the town were suddenly aroused. General Gage, in consternation, called a council of war. It was seen that the patriots were gaining strength every hour. I witnessed the embarkation of troops; heard the heavy cannonading; saw the landing, the attack, and the repulse; amid smoke and fire, beheld the long and deadly struggle. With what intense emotion, with what torturing anxiety, multitudes watched every movement! Amid the shouts for freedom I heard the lamentations for Warren, who had given up his life for the sacred cause of liberty. Then followed the protracted siege of Boston, during which untold sufferings were met with heroic courage.

"Then sprang into being the American army, and from thence the name of WASHINGTON was borne upon the breeze. It was the 3d of July, '75, when Washington assumed in full the position to which he had been chosen as 'commander-in-chief.' From that instant every eye turned to him; and expectations and convictions were awakened, which

never, for one instant, were doomed to disappointment. On the first day of 1776, I saw the new flag with its thirteen stripes waving over the Continental army. I missed the old pine-tree; yet it was to be replaced by a constellation of stars, and I knew well that the toughness and grit of the forest-pine was embodied in every soldier there. Peering through the distance, I saw on the night of March 4, while it was yet starlight, that Dorchester Heights were being fortified. Two thousand men were at work silently and surely. The results accomplished were marvellous. 'Never,' it has been said, 'was so much work done in so short a time.' In the early morning, through the mist, General Howe gazed with amazement, hardly trusting his eyes, and with a shadowy hope that it might all prove a delusion. 'These rebels have accomplished,' he exclaimed, 'more in one night than my whole army would have done in a month.' And what a position! commanding both the harbor and the town. Startled and confounded, the British general saw plainly that nothing was left them but flight. Certain unavoidable delays preceded the embarkation, during which General Howe convened his officers in council, and the inevitable decision was made to evacuate the town. Then came hurry and confusion, mingled with feelings of bitterest disappointment and disgrace. Within six hours, eight thousand men embarked. 'The retreat,' said Washington, 'was precipitate beyond any thing I could have conceived.' Military stores of great value were left scattered on every side. There were more than a thousand refugees, Tories, many of whom had crowded into the town from various quarters, with the vain idea of obtaining a security from British arms, which they did not find. Some of these people had held office under the crown. Terror-stricken, they now ignobly scrambled on board the men-of-war, and were taken to Halifax.

"I watched with joy the fleet as it sailed, — one hundred and twenty vessels, loaded with eight thousand men; which, with the addition of marines and sailors, rendered Howe's force over ten thousand strong. As the fleet passed out of the harbor in long line extending from the Castle to Nantasket Roads, a flag was hoisted on a church-steeple, — an understood signal to surrounding towns that the enemy had gone. Every hill-top was crowded with eager spectators, anxious to watch the departure of the British. In due time, the American army, with drums beating and banners flying, marched into the town. Washington was universally hailed as a Benefactor and Deliverer.

"Warmest congratulations and most affectionate greetings were extended. Friends, long parted, rapturously met with tears of joy; and the air was filled with triumphant acclamations. The time-honored Thursday Lecture, established by John Cotton nearly a century and a half before, — which had been suspended during the siege, — was at once resumed; and, at the request of his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, the Rev. Dr. Eliot delivered a Thanksgiving Sermon. The officers of the American army attended the services; and Washington, with his associates in arms and the assembled people, bowed in gratitude together before the altar of God.

"I now saw that this nation was entering upon a new era. A brighter day was dawning for the human race; a new step had been taken for the establishment of constitutional freedom. This great continent, which had been reserved from the beginning of creation, was now apparently to be set apart for the advancement of Christian civilization. Evil might, indeed, crowd upon evil; but here, at least, was a wide field and fresh opportunities."

"Perhaps I am saying too much: but it is the privilege of old age to be garrulous; and, having waited one or two hundred years without speaking, I may be excused a little talkativeness now. Possibly you may feel that I am like Shakspeare's Gratiano, who, it will be remembered, talked 'an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice;' 'two grains of wheat,' they said, 'hid in two bushels of chaff.' But no: I trust you will not say that.

"Some persons are very literal, like those farmers, who, hearing of the essay by Richard and Maria Edgeworth on 'Irish Bulls,' ordered at once numerous copies to be distributed through the agricultural districts for the improvement of stock. There are those who would never believe that a tree could produce dates; unless, indeed, it were a date-tree. But you may ask seriously, how it was possible for the like of me to observe and remember such things as I have related. These are reasonable inquiries; but there are questions more easily asked than answered. Could Sir Isaac Newton explain how he disentangled the threads of creation, and discovered the hidden laws of the universe? Can any one reveal where acquired knowledge, yet unwritten, accumulates itself? or in what unseen archives Memory stores away her inexhaustible treasures? Could the author of 'Hamlet,' think you, tell us out of what depths of creative thought 'Hamlet' was written? or Burns make known by what mental alchemy his melodious songs sprang into being? Could Bryant account for his 'Thanatopsis,' written in the freshness of his youth? or Longfellow unfold the mysterious advent of 'Evangeline'? Yet every tree loves Bryant the more because of his 'Forest Hymn,' and Longfellow because of his companionship with murmuring pines, and hemlocks bearded with moss. To them alike

'The thick roof
Of green and stirring branches is alive
And musical with birds;'

while

'The gray old trunks, that high in heaven
Mingle their mossy boughs,'

give to them both perpetual benedictions. They alike feel that even

'The delicate forest-flower
Seems, as it issues from the shapeless mould,
An emanation of the indwelling Life;'

while the trees in their presence 'stand like Druids of eld, their

beards resting upon their bosoms,' and speaking 'with voices sad and prophetic.'

"At such moments they could enthusiastically exclaim with Wordsworth, —

'One impulse from the vernal wood
May teach you more of man —
Of moral evil and of good —
Than all the sages can.'

It would hardly be fitting in *me* to present such a claim; but, when Wordsworth asserts it, I acquiesce. It must be confessed the ancient Hebrews had much the same belief. The Psalmist declares that 'all the trees of the wood rejoice before the Lord.' The prophet Isaiah exclaims that 'all the trees of the field shall clap their hands;' and in the First Book of Chronicles it is written, 'Then shall the trees of the wood sing out at the presence of the Lord.' Those prophets of God had minds nicely attuned to the harmonies of Nature. In Ezekiel we are told that 'all the trees of the field *shall know* that I the Lord have brought down the high tree, and exalted the low.' And what human feelings are recognized in the experience of trees, when in the same book it curiously describes a cedar of remarkable beauty, which grew so fair, that 'all the trees that were in the garden of God *envied* it'! Another singular circumstance is recorded in the Book of Judges, where the trees assembled with much excitement for a popular election. They had various candidates which it was proposed should be promoted to rule over them. Some advocated the olive-tree, while some preferred the fig-tree; others urged the claims of the vine; and at last they united upon the bramble! Men have been practising upon this ever since, and only too often has the bramble been called to rule. To the patriarchal mind, Nature was full of exhaustless creative energy. There was thought and feeling; while the impassioned sympathies found on every side an intelligent and joyous response.

"Will any one still question how I could know what transpired beyond the narrow circle of my immediate presence? I answer, one object in Nature works in harmony with another. It is affirmed in the book of Ecclesiastes, 'A bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter.' What could be more natural than that these winged messengers, delicate and aerial beings, fluttering between earth and heaven, should keep me informed?

"But, besides this, there are subtle and electric communications; a conscious sympathy, — mysterious and wonderful, — imparting knowledge. Under such influences, Eliphaz, the friend of Job, exclaims, —

'A word stole *secretly* to me;
Its whispers caught my ear.'

"And intimations there are which come without even so much as a whisper. Thus Milton affirms, that when, in evil hour, the forbidden fruit was plucked,

'Earth felt the wound; and Nature, from her seat
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe.'

"It was not essential that all Nature should actually behold that act without need of sight came an instinctive and throbbing response. Then every tree of the forest was acknowledged as the Lord's, and the cedars of Lebanon were of his planting. At such a time the voice of the Lord God was heard walking in the garden in the cool of the day. In that glorious dawn of creation, 'the morning-stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.' What I say now is, that, if ever there was a time when a tree should observe and feel, it would be under such a condition of things as that through which I have passed. If ever there was a time when the trees should clap their hands and sing out before the presence of the Lord, it should be when a nation like this is being born into nobler privilege and a grander life. Over such a Declaration of Independence as the patriots made, and a Centennial year like that upon which we have now entered, the morning-stars may well sing together, and all the sons of God shout for joy!"

"It is singular how often trees have become identified through past ages with historical and literary events. It was under an oak that Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1476, after hearing mass in the Church of Santa Maria de la Antigua, swore that the rights and privileges of the people should be maintained inviolate. Three hundred years after that event, this land (the discovery of which must ever be gratefully associated with the name of Isabella), by its struggle for freedom, made the year 1776 memorable; as if there were some mystic significance in what men term 'the spirit of '76,' one event foreshadowing another!"

"I have heard of the mulberry-tree planted by Milton in the gardens of Christ's College.

"Of Shakspeare's tree, from which the carved box was made that enclosed the papers conveying the freedom of Stratford-on-Avon to David Garrick.

"Of Falstaff's tree, in Queen Elizabeth's Walk at Windsor Forest, associated with Herne the hunter, which the King of Prussia, and Alexander von Humboldt, on visiting England, asked first of all to see.

"That was a grand old elm, under the shade of which William Penn made his famous treaty with the Indians.

"I remember also hearing, that when, in 1687, Governor Andros demanded the charter of Connecticut, the parchment was laid upon the table; the lights were suddenly extinguished, and the charter disappeared, — seized and concealed (as was afterwards known) in the hollow trunk of a tree, called ever after the Charter Oak.

"There is yet another tree for which I cherish fraternal affection, — the venerable elm at Cambridge, under which Washington, in July, '75, took command of the American army.

"True, no hand of Shakspeare or Milton planted the seed from which I sprang. No Sir John Falstaff or colonial charter has become identi-

fied with me. Yet the wonderful scenes I have witnessed, and the remarkable historic periods through which I have passed, may lead some of those who have known me to cherish my memory, for a brief season at least, after I have gone."

There was a pause. I looked at my watch, and saw that it was exactly seven o'clock. The gale, which came in gusts, rapidly increased in fury. The colossal elm wrestled vigorously with the storm. It writhed, swaying hither and thither before the tempest; again and again lifting itself up, as if to renew the contest: but at sixteen minutes past seven o'clock, with one tremendous crash, the old veteran lay prostrate upon the ground.

The living link between us and the aborigines, the solitary companion of Blackstone, the friend of Governor Winthrop, the spectator of successive changes, which, through long cycles, have marked a nation's career, was to be with us NO MORE!

The startling intelligence spread upon the wings of the wind. Speedily thousands of citizens gathered earnestly around, eager to take one farewell look, and to gain, if it should be possible, some memento, however slight, of this historic and patriarchal representative of the Past.

The following extract from a letter of Ellis Gray, of Boston, to Thomas Dolbeare, a merchant of Kingston, Jamaica, was communicated to Mr. Deane by Mrs. Henry L. Eustis, of Cambridge. It well represents the feeling among the patriots of Boston during the operation of the Boston Port Bill, and before the siege.

"BOSTON, Sept. 15, 1774.

"D^R BRO., — It is so long since I heard from you, & I know not but longer since I wrote you, that I am really very anxious for a Renewal of our Correspondence. For past omissions I plead the disagreeable Situation in which we now live in this Place, seventeen miles from a Sea Port, & block't up by Sea & Land, an Army in Possession of the Town, that Army so fearful for their own Safety that they are repairing the Fortifications at the Entrance of the Town, & about building a Breast Work upon the Neck to defend them from the attacks of the Country People, who are determin'd never to submit to the Act of Parliament which wickedly intends the Destruction of their Charter Rights but with the Loss of their Fortunes & Lives. Large Bodies of Men, from 3 to 4,000, assembling in every County & obliging the new fangled Councillors in them to resign — so that there remains not one of those unconstitutional Gent^l in any Part of the Country, all the obstinate ones having taken Refuge in this Place where they have a Fleet & Army to protect them.

"What keeps us most peaceable at present is the Prospect of the Congress now assembled at Philadelphia, their doing something for our

Relief. I wish they may have all that Firmness, Wisdom & Prudence which are necessary for them, & that their Determinations may happily tend to a Restoration of our Rights & the Re-establishment of our Peace. I believe Genl Gage is heartily sick of the Business he has engag'd in; indeed it was idle to suppose that 2 or 3,000 men should so intimidate this whole Province (not to say Continent) as that they should for one moment relinquish that Freedom which was the dear bought Purchase of their ancestors' Blood & Treasure. Indeed every thing here on the Part of the Soldiers & People wears the aspect of a speedy War. But I hope God of his infinite mercy will interpose & prevent. Upon a Rumor Spread in the Country that the Soldiers had fir'd on the Inhabitants, 30, some say 40,000 men were in Arms from the Western Parts of this Province & the Borders of Connecticut & on the march for our Relief. And I have no Doubt that if Things should come to an Extremity more than Double that number stand ready to turn out & fight for the Liberties of their Country & the Rights of Mankind. Our Situation is truly distressing, but we should deserve it all & ten Times more should we basely betray or tamely suffer our Rights to be wrested from us by any Power on Earth. For He cannot (to use the Language of the Middlesex Resolves) He cannot die too soon who dies fighting for the Laws & Constitution of his Country."

Mr. WATERSTON said, that in the "Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.," p. 14, is this statement: "On the 10th of October, 1775, Colonel Quincy [from his residence in Quincy] had the satisfaction of seeing, from an upper window, Governor Gage sail for England with a fair wind; of which fact he made a record with his ring on one of the panes of glass yet extant."

Mr. Waterston exhibited the pane of glass, which bore the following inscription:—

"October 10th, 1775, Governor Gage
sailed for England
with a fair wind."

He also exhibited the diamond ring with which the inscription was made, and laid upon the table for inspection an almanac printed in 1776 by J. Gill and T. & J. Fleet, — the first-named having been imprisoned during the siege, "charged with printing sedition, treason, and rebellion."